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## Identification of the Image of Terminal Stupa of Barabudur and the Foundation of the Sailendra Dynasty\*

BY

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR

Some of the major problems of the Sailendra dynasty of Java, as have been specified below, have hitherto defied all attempts at satisfactory solution, but speculations thereon during the last few decades have set our minds to work within the framework of those speculations, though without transgressing the norms of historical procedure as far as possible. It is however possible to look at the problems from a fresh point of view and reinterpret the historical development accordingly. These refer to the name of Barabudur, its standing as a relic shrine, the question regarding the foundation of Barabudur and its connexion with the founder of the Sailendra dynasty, the identity of the image—if there was one—on the terminal stupa and other connected matters. In the present paper an attempt has been made to study these problems from a new point of view and interpret them accordingly. I should like to begin with a study of some inscriptions.

The data of the Kayumvungan inscription, dated 824 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> and those of the Trui Tpusan inscriptions (nos. I & II), of 842 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> are believed to throw some light on the problems of Barabudur. It is thought by some that the former is the foundation-charter of Barabudur,<sup>3</sup> while the latter refer to the institution of a free-hold

\* The paper was read under a slightly different title "Identification of the image on the terminal stupa of Barabudur and connected problems" at the 28th International Congress of Orientalists, Canberra, Australia, on 8-1-71.

1. De Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia*, I, pp. 38ff.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 74 ff, 79 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 177 ff.



for the *kamūlān i bhūmi sambhāra*, of which the last term i.e. *Sambhāra* is again believed to refer to Barabudur. These inscriptions were discovered in the residency of Kědu and important geographical names of these records seem to refer them to this region.

There are however difficulties in identifying the Old-Javanese geographical names of these charters with similar names in other old charters or bring them in relation to modern villages bearing similar names.<sup>4</sup> Still there is little doubt that these charters belong to the residency of Kědu. Now, the opening verses of the Kayumvungan inscription written in Sragdharā metre have some important message for students of history. We offer the English translation below:

"May the hero of immeasurable might, seated in the great *Vajraparyāṅkāśana* on the lofty hill, he, born in the world and moving in the world, .... a lion (among men) to the very tip .... may he protect the whole world of innocent beings, free from the power of Smara (i.e. the God of Love)."

If we now recall that the Kayumvungan and the Trui Tpusan inscriptions yield geographical data referring to the region of Kědu and if one such charter invokes a deity "seated in the great *Vajraparyāṅkāśana* on the lofty hill," it should obviously refer to a hill of the Kědu region where a deity of such description was located on the summit. Such a hill with a deity atop can only suit Barabudur where a stūpa was fashioned out of a rugged hill. There are no doubt other hills in that region or in its neighbourhood, such a Měraji, Měrbabu,<sup>5</sup> Sumbing, Gunung Vukir and others, but they do not fit into the description of the Kayumvungan inscription and have therefore to be left out of consideration. As regards other Buddhist temples of approximately the same period, such as Pavon and Mendut, for instance, which form with Barabudur a sort of complex, it cannot be said that they meet the conditions of the opening verses of the inscription referred to above

4. Damais in *BEFEO* LIV (1968), pp. 383 ff.

5. Stutterheim (*Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, p. 14) did not consider these place-names to be "typically Javanese."



## IMAGE ON THE TERMINAL STŪPA OF BARABUḌUR 3

nor of other data therein. It is therefore reasonable to think that the opening verses can only refer to Barabudur and none else.

Now, if the Kayumvungan inscription refers to the hill of Barabudur, with an image on the summit, the significance of the image, its relationship, if any, with the founder of the Barabudur-stūpa, whether Barabudur was a *kamūlān* of the Śailendra-dynasty, etc., would naturally come up for consideration. As stated already, the inscription of Trui Tpusan is believed to make a direct reference to Barabudur under the phrase *kamūlān i bhūmi sambhāra*. The word *kamūlān*, discussed elaborately by Damais,<sup>6</sup> does not, for paucity of details in contemporary or near-contemporary records, permit of any clear exposition, but we cannot lose sight of the fact that it literally means a place where a *mūla* i.e. root or origin is located. So it may refer to a shrine where a relic is kept for veneration by the people. It may be connected with religion, such as tooth, hair or bone of Buddha or his principal disciple or may be secular objects pertaining to the founder of a dynasty. The existing data cannot positively preclude the possibility of depositing some sort of relic, of whatever type it may be, in the land called Sabhāra and free-holds were instituted for the maintenance of the establishment. What that relic was cannot be determined on the basis of the Trui Tpusan inscriptions, but if Sambhāra can refer to Barabudur, it will signify that Barabudur was a *kamūlān* i.e. some sort of relic was placed at Barabudur and free-holds were instituted for the maintenance of its regular service. Otherwise, it would appear singularly strange that we shall, on the one hand, tacitly recognise Barabudur as a stūpa and, on the other, recoil when the term *kamūlān* has to be applied to it. This would be rather illogical.

Now, the name Sambhāra<sup>7</sup> seems to be composed of two parts, viz., *Sam* (= *Sang*) + *Bhāra*. For analogy, I can draw attention to the names of Samboja and San fo-t'si. The name San fo-t'si

6. Damais (*Op.cit.*, pp. 405 ff.) has discussed the use of the word in Old-Javanese charters.

7. De Casparis (*Op.cit.*, pp. 164-70) has stated that the term is the shortened form of Bara(budur), but Damais (*Op.cit.*, 391 ff.) has criticised the views of the former as untenable.



occurs in the Chinese annals from the beginning of the tenth century to the fourteenth century A.D. Samboja is also known to be a late Javanese form of the same name. It is evident here that both *San* and *Sam* stand for the Old-Javanese honorific *Sang*. Fo-t'si and Boja, of course stand for Vijaya. When this Sinicised/Javanised name appeared in Sanskrit garb, the honorific *Śrī* came to be used in place of *San* and *Sam*.<sup>8</sup> Hence San fo-t'si=Samboja=Śrīvijaya. So we may admit that Sambhāra=Sang Bhāra. Let us now turn our attention to the second component of the name, viz. Bhāra. In Old-Javanese language the transmutation of *bha* to *ba* is not an unusual phenomenon as words like *bhaksana*, *bheri*, *bhāsana*, *bhikṣu*, *bhīma*, *bhūta*, etc., to quote a few examples at random; have easily got into the garb of *bakṣana*, *bahiri*, *bāsana*, *biku*, *bima*, *buta*, etc. If this be the position, there need be no difficulty in equating Sambhāra with Sang Bara,<sup>8a</sup> the latter being the shortened form of Bara (buḍur). Here the word Bhāra may signify: a charge, weight, important, etc. Can this be due to the fact that this is a relic-bearing hill, a *kamūlān*? I therefore agree with de Casparis in regard to the equation of the name Sambhāra with Bara (buḍur), but not on the same grounds nor do I concur with his explanation of the name,<sup>9</sup> as will be explained later on. His explanation has also been questioned by others.<sup>10</sup> It seems to me that although (Sam)bhāra may be equated with the term Bara,

8. Examples occur in Old-Jav. records. It may be recalled that names of localities like Sang Hyang Hujung (*Nāg.*, 14/2.3), Sang Hyang Api (*Nāg.*, occur among the dependencies of Majapahit. Names beginning with the Sanskrit honorific *Śrī* are also found in old charters of Indonesia. Such are, for instance, the names of Śrī Maṇḍaki (De Casparis, *op.cit.*, Inscription of Tulang Air I b 25), Śrī Maṅgala (OJO II, v<sup>o</sup>1). The names of Śrī Suravasa, Śrī Vijaya are well-known. There are other examples as well. In the mainland of India, names like Śrī Nālandā, Śrī Odantapurī, etc., occur quite often in Buddhist writings (e.g. S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, 1963—edn., pp. 50, 71; Tāranātha, *dGos-'dod-kun-'byung*, Banaras edn., 1964, pp. 192 ff.). In modern times, the name of Śrī Laikā as the name of Ceylon easily attracts attention.

8a. Gonda says (*Sanskrit in Indonesia*, p. 246) that Skt. *Bhāra* is pronounced by the Malays in two ways: *bahara* and *bara*.

9. "The Mountain of Accumulation of Virtue of the (Ten) Stages (of the Bodhisattva)".

10. For example by Damais, *op. cit.*, p. 391.



## IMAGE ON THE TERMINAL STŪPA OF BARABUḌUR 5

it seems difficult to trace bhūdhara in Buḍur on account of valid linguistic objections put forward by Damais.<sup>11</sup> The earlier explanations of the name have not been found to be satisfactory from different points of view, nor can we offer a more satisfactory explanation for the second part of the name i.e. Buḍur, but one thing has struck me. In the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, canto 77, 1-3, we come across, among the *kasugatan kabajradharan akramā*, i.e. places of thunderbolt-bearing Buddhists living married according to custom, the names of Bēru and Buḍur. Since a village of the name of Barabuḍur exists in the vicinity of the hill, could Bēru, a corrupt form of Bara (from Bhāra), signify the stūpa-hill, Buḍur represented the monastic establishment? It is not impossible that some monks of the highest order of the Vajradhara-sect might have also stayed, at least for some time, on the stūpa-hill, because in v. 15 of the Kayumvungan inscription the Jina-temple has also been called a vihāra. In any case, this combination of Bēru and Buḍur gives us the nearest phonetical and geographical approach to the name Barabuḍur.

Now, if Sambhāra refers to Bara(buḍur), its *kamūlān* or relic has to be sought for here. A shrine in the form of a terminal stūpa is here, but Barabuḍur has revealed no sign of tunnelling in the hill to deposit the relic, and diggings have yielded hardly anything by way of reliquary.<sup>12</sup> It seems therefore reasonable to suppose that if any Buddhist relic was brought from any other country, as Anorahta, king of Burma, did at a later period,<sup>13</sup> it must have been

11. *Op.cit.*, 390 ff. In the transmutation of the term *bhūdhara* to *buḍur*, the elision of *a*-final is perhaps admissible, because, in spoken language, such elision is quite conceivable. In current languages of eastern India derived from Sanskrit, this is so. Damais has adduced examples of written words, but we can not be sure how these words were actually pronounced in earlier times. We can no doubt detect traces of oral speech in Old-Javanese language, but even if they support the absence of accent on *a*-final, still the transmutation of *dha* into *du* cannot be easily defended. It is however interesting to observe in this connexion that a Bengali poet of the last generation and unacquainted with the problems of the name of Barabuḍur Sanskritised the name as Barabhūdhara ("the most excellent hill").

12. Regarding the reliquary of Barabuḍur, vide Krom, *Barabuḍur I*, p. 653.

13. He brought it from Ceylon. Vide Phayre, *History of Burma* (1967), p. 36.



placed in the cavity of the image at the terminal stūpa.<sup>14</sup> Such an image might have been made of gold or bronze, probably the former, which the wealth of the Śailendra monarchs would have justified and which is attested for the later period by Chau Ju-kua himself, as will be discussed later on. If the Kayumvungan inscription be the foundation-charter of Barabudūr, it is worthwhile to note that this inscription describes the image of the apotheosised king Indra dazzling as part of the Moon. The deification of kings thus starts in a regular way in Java, and the Kayumvungan inscription is instructive from this point of view, because the building constructed has been described as a temple of Jina, but the image installed therein has been that of the apotheosised king Indra. It means that he has been identified with a Buddhist divinity. We can now postulate that the icon of the deity seated in the great vajraparyāṅkāśana at the summit of the hill i.e. at the terminal stūpa was fashioned in the image of the king and served as the palladium of the dynasty.

Now, if the Kayumvungan inscription be the foundation charter of Barabudūr, the consequences flowing from that conclusion must be squarely faced. Verse 8 of the inscription says that the temple of Jina was established *in this village*. This village being so very obvious to the writer of the inscription, no further specification of the village has been given. Can it refer to the village where the śailastha śūra, i.e. 'hero of the lofty hill', was seated? Indeed, the inscription envisages a structure where the image is made of gold or bronze and the visitors have to ascend the altar by flights of steps (verse 12).

Now, this temple of Jina was called Venuvana. If the Kayumvungan inscription be the foundation-charter of Barabudūr, this Venuvana should have been identified with the terminal stūpa of Barabudūr, but de Casparis who first proposed the identification of Sambhāra with Barabudūr sought for its *kamūlān* in the

14. I have seen several such pedestals in the courtyard of the Anurādhapur Museum in Ceylon in 1968. An 18th-century image of Dhyāni Buddha of the National Museum, New Delhi, has only recently yielded from its cavity many relics, such as stones, half a dozen scrolls, chaṁ, herbs, a whole range of clothes, etc.



## IMAGE ON THE TERMINAL STŪPA OF BARABUḌUR 7

subsidiary temple-complex of Pavon-Mendut. Whatever one may think of this proposition, it is possible to assume, on theoretical considerations, that king Indra's *kamūlān* could only lie at Sambhāra-Barabudur, the greatest of the Śailendra monuments, by a grateful descendant of the king, who was apparently the most outstanding ruler of the dynasty. If this be so, the conclusion becomes almost irresistible that he was the founder of the dynasty.

The founder of a dynasty has necessarily to be its earliest ruler. Can this condition be fulfilled in the case of king Indra? We meet him in the Kēlurak inscription of 782 A.D.,<sup>15</sup> but could he rule earlier? In the Ligor inscription, dated 775 A.D.,<sup>16</sup> Face A, we find reference to Śrīvijayēndrarāja, by which I understand king Indra (Indra + Rāja) of Śrīvijaya. Other designations of the same king found in other parts of this inscription call him Śrīvijayeśvara-bhūpati and Śrīvijayanṛpati, though the usual and common title should have been, as already pointed out by Stutterheim,<sup>17</sup> "Śrīvijayarāja." It must be admitted that a difficulty is created by the first two epithets of the king. The use of the terms Indra and rājā in the first epithet and Īśvara and bhūpati in the second, of which one term would appear to be redundant in both, indicates that the words Indra and Īśvara must bear special significance. It seems to me that the name of king Indra has been given in the first epithet and, in the second epithet, he has been equated with Īśvara, i.e. god. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain why the middle and the last terms in the first two epithets bearing the same meaning have been used side by side.

There are also other considerations. It would indeed be surprising if the charter, after showering the choicest epithets in the first four śloka of this inscription, would not mention the name of the king in the fifth śloka where this is due. Not that the elision of the name of the king is impossible, but in an inscription of ten śloka consisting of forty pādas where the names of the

15. *Tijd. Bat., Genoot.*, 68 (1928), pp. 1 ff.

16. *BEFEO*, XVIII, (6), pp. 29-30; Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava-rule*, pp. 22-23.

17. *A Javanese period in Sumatran History*, p. 18.



royal monks have not been forgotten, it would be rather unusual to find the name of the king absent. Besides, Face A of the Ligor inscription begins with *yasya* (i.e. 'whose') and without any benedictory formula, which would be most unusual for the writer of the Ligor inscription, as he was well-versed in both rhetoric and prosody of Sanskrit. Chhabra was therefore justified<sup>18</sup> in proposing that Face A of the Ligor inscription is really a continuation of Face B, which begins with the usual benedictory formula *svasti*. There are no doubt some palaeographical<sup>19</sup> and other difficulties which cannot be explained easily. For instance, Chhabra has stated that Face B of the inscription is "considerably damaged"; in fact, here the writing is better preserved than in Face A. Still it ends abruptly, without stating clearly the object for which the inscription was written. The reason for the abrupt ending of the inscription is not likely to be known in future, but could this mean that the writer of the inscription died suddenly, making Face B inauspicious for further writing, and a second writer had to be requisitioned to complete the job on the other Face of the inscription? Apart from these problems, there is no inherent or insuperable difficulty in considering the two inscriptions as one and pertaining to a Śailendra monarch of Śrīvijaya, thus taking us back to the position where Coedès had taken us earlier.

It is quite conceivable that the Śrīvijayan monarch, after subjugating Sumatra, Bangka and part of western Java, would like to secure control of the Isthmus at the neck of the Malay Peninsula. The Ligor inscription testifies to that fact in 775 A.D. It is true that the dynastic name of the Śrīvijayan monarch is not given in Face A of the Ligor inscription, but there is no bar either to suppose that king Indra of Śrīvijaya belonged to the Śailendra dynasty. If Face A & B belong to the same inscription, but in

18. *Op.cit.*, p. 21. To avoid introducing confusion into the subject, I have maintained the nomenclature of Dr. Coedès, i.e. the longer portion (29 lines) has been called Face A and the shorter one Face B.

19. I made a brief study of the palaeography in the two faces of the inscription. I find, for instance, that *jā* in the two inscriptions has not been uniformly written (Cf. 3rd and 10th lines in A and 1st line in B) the long medial *ī* is entirely different (lines 1, 3, 14 in A and 2 in B), no *virāma*-sign is found at the end of the *śloka* in Face B,—a thing uniformly noticed in face A.



## IMAGE ON THE TERMINAL STŪPA OF BARABUDUR 9

reverse order, as explained above, there is no difficulty in the matter, but even if the two faces are separate, there are still some points in favour of this proposition, as pointed out by K. A. N. Sastri.<sup>20</sup> If we remember that the pre-nāgarī scripts, associated with the Śailendra monarchs of Java, have been found inscribed on disc/stone slab at Muara Takus and Tanjong Medan in Sumatra and the antique-style stūpas of Muara Takus bear resemblance with those of Ligor referred to above, these facts would plead in favour of the view that king Indra of Face A of the Ligor inscription was a member of the Śailendra dynasty of Śrīvijaya. Although there are slight variations in the palaeography of Faces A & B, as pointed out above, there is hardly any doubt that these Faces were inscribed contemporaneously or almost contemporaneously. In that context, it would be difficult to imagine two sovereigns ruling in the Ligor region at approximately the same time. No court-poet, far less the flamboyant writers of the Ligor inscriptions, would have missed this opportunity to shower more epithets on their royal patrons if one was defeated by the other. In fact, none of the inscriptions on the two Faces suggest any conflict between the Śailendra and Śrīvijaya monarchs.

The name Śailendra seems also to have a Sumatran origin. The word is composed of two parts, viz. Śaila + Indra. If the argument postulated above be accepted, it would appear that king Indra is the earliest ruler of the Śailendra dynasty of Śrīvijaya. The name Śailendra could then very well have been derived from the *śaila* i.e. hill of Bukit Seguntang which looms large in the background of the Śrīvijayan capital of Palembang and was naturally stamped in the Indonesian mind as the abode of gods. This *śaila* and the king's name Indra might have suggested the nomenclature of the Śailendra dynasty.

Indeed, mountain-capitals were favoured in those days from defence and religious points of view. Besides Sumatra, in another part of South-East Asia, I mean Cambodia, the same custom was being followed. King Jayavarman II (802-50 A.D.), after his return from Java, established his capital on Mount Mahendra

20. *History of Śrīvijaya*, p. 46.



(Phnom Kulen). When he and his successors gave up their residence on Mahendraparyata, they built other temple-mountains in the heart of their subsequent capitals. The analogy may be extended to the case of Śrīvijayan Śailendra monarch Indra. Palembang-Chaiya-Barabudur would then fall into a well-established pattern as regional and State capitals.

I now propose to identify king Indra of Face A of the Ligor inscription with king Indra of the Kēlurak inscription. The evidence is not conclusive—this is not likely to be so until fresh positive evidence crops up—but still the pre-nāgarī script and the Vajradhara cult in both Sumatra and Central Java at about the same time with identical names of kings in both the cases would plead in favour of this proposition. They should thus belong to the same dynasty.

This interpretation of facts would make it reasonable to hold the view that king Indra of Śrīvijaya assumed, in commemoration of some victory or for some other important event in his life, the name of Viṣṇu, with the title of śrī mahārāja according to the Indonesian custom which allows change of name on important occasions of life. The qualifications attributed to Viṣṇu, such as, “(who) entirely (destroys) the pride of all (his foes) and (who) is, in his might, without a second—that self-same one is called by the designation of śrī mahārāja (i.e. illustrious great king)” were not likely to have been employed in regard to a vassal under an overlord, but were more suitable for a sovereign ruler. I therefore feel that Indra-Viṣṇu-Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya refer to the same person.

This brings us to the question of śrī mahārāja rake panangkaran of the Kalasan inscription.<sup>21</sup> If the Śrīvijayan Śailendra authority was established in Malaya in or about 775 A.D., we find the Śailendras also firmly established in power in Central Java in the year 778 A.D. under rake Panangkaran with the title of Śrī Mahārāja. He is again found in the Kēdu charter of 907 A.D. immediately after sang ratu Sañjaya, a Śaivite ruler, who has

21. *Journ. Bombay Br. Royal As. Soc.*, 17 (1887-89), pp. 1-10; *Tijd. Bat. Genoot.*, 1928, pp. 58-60.



## IMAGE ON THE TERMINAL STŪPA OF BARABUDUR 11.

been described in the Caṅgal inscription<sup>22</sup> (v. 11) as having "overthrown many circles of fēudal lords". The charter states that "for obtaining tranquility", king Sañjaya established on the Vukirhill a liṅga with all auspicious marks. It seems to me that there is an echo of this in the otherwise corrupt *Carita Pārahyāṅgan*<sup>23</sup> which depicts king Sañjaya as a mighty conqueror who had subjugated among other States, Sumatra and Malaya. Krom<sup>24</sup> has not ruled out the possibility of overseas expeditions of king Sañjaya. Now, these facts or traditions have some bearings on the present discussion. Indeed, Poerbatjaraka had already utilised some data of the *Carita Parahyangan* and had observed that, according to this work, Panaraban was the son of Sañjaya and when writing this name there was distinct possibility of Panaraban being misunderstood for the original Panaṅkaran. Now, the *Carita Parahyangan* says: "Says rahyang Sañjaya, instructing his son R. Panaraban, i.e. R. Tamperan, I request you not to follow my religion, because I am afraid of many people."<sup>25</sup> In view of the desire of "many people" who were apparently agitating for the introduction of Vajrayāna Buddhism (Vajradhara-cult), Panaraban-Panaṅkaran, the son of the Śaivite king Sañjaya, adopted this faith, while still perhaps a student at Śrīvijaya or later on. It may be recalled in this connexion that later generations considered Sañjaya and Siṇḍok, respectively, to be the founders of dynasty, and no intermediate ruler is accorded this honour by posterity. One may therefore be inclined to believe that Panaṅkaran might be a descendant and immediate successor to the throne of Sañjaya.

If the identification of Panaraban of the *Carita Parahyangan* with Panaṅkaran be admitted, at least as a working hypothesis, it would at once explain why he made a complete break with the

22. Kedu-charter in *Tijd. Bat. Genoot.*, 67 (1927), pp. 172 ff. The latest edition of the Caṅgal inscription by H. B. Sarkar in *Journ. As. Soc. I* (1959), pp. 183 ff.

23. *Tijd. Bat. Genoot.*, 59 (1920), pp. 403, 416 ff.

24. *Hindoe-Jav. Geschiedenis*, p. 126.

25. The data have been utilised by Poerbatjaraka in his own way in the *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 114 (1958), pp. 257 ff.



past in religion, royal title and the script of his inscriptions. It is noteworthy that while Sañjaya has been described as having subdued many neighbouring countries and the *Carita Parahyangan* has endorsed his military activities, the Ligor inscription has not also attributed any specific military conquest to Śrīvijayēndrarāja. In fact, two generations of royal monks living under the same king bespeak of peaceful exercise of authority. This seems to indicate that this king inherited a peaceful kingdom both in Sumatra and Malaya, as a successor to king Sañjaya of Mataram. Indra possibly took possession of Central Java at some unspecified date before 778 A.D., but the circumstances are obscure.

Van Naerssen has doubted whether rake Panaṅkaran was at all a Śailendra king,<sup>26</sup> but existing data do not negative the proposition either. He is even called a mahārāja. It may be recalled in this connexion that the famous Kedu charter of 907 A.D. begins with him the series of kings with the familiar title of Śrī Mahārāja. The writer of the inscription thus deliberately distinguishes king Sañjaya with the title of *ratu*, while all the other rulers named therein and beginning with rake Panaṅkaran bear the title of Śrī Mahārāja. Its explanation is to be found in Face B of the Ligor inscription which has the following statement to make regarding Viṣṇu: "The self-same (person) is known by the appellation of Śrī Mahārāja because of the mention of his origin in the Śailendravarṇṣa. "It is likely therefore that rake Panaṅkaran could not have been given the title of Mahārāja (Kalasan inscription) or Śrī Mahārāja without belonging to that dynasty. We find Indra again in 782 A.D., when he is called Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya. It might have been his coronation-name in Java or name adopted by him after his initiation to Vajrayāna Buddhism (Vajradhara-cult) at an unspecified date before 782 A.D., as any one of these events was sufficient to justify the assumption of a new name. If this view be correct and the hypothesis formulated above be considered reasonable, it would appear that king Indra-Viṣṇu-Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya is the founder of the Śailendra-dynasty. Dr. Coedès has already accepted this identification, making my burden lighter. The above consideration therefore led me to believe that rake Panaṅkaran was a Śai-

26. *India Antiqua* (1947), pp. 249 ff.



## IMAGE ON THE TERMINAL STŪPA OF BARABUḌUR 13

lendra-king and that this title represents the Indonesian epithet of king Indra-Viṣṇu-Saṅgrāmadhananjaya.

I have made this lengthy digression to show that the Buddhist image on the terminal stūpa of Barabudur bore the features of king Indra as the founder of the Śailendra-dynasty and that his relic was placed therein by a grateful descendant, thus making Barabudur a stūpa of *kamūlān* in the conventional sense of the term.

## II

Let us now try to find out the identity of the godhead on the terminal stūpa of Barabudur. The inscriptional data make it clear that the Śailendra kings subscribed to the advanced form of Buddhism known as Vajrayāna. It may be recalled that the Vajrayāna system had developed in Beṅgal and the contemporary Pāla monarchs, viz. Dharmapāla (770-810 A.D.) and Dēvapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.), offered it royal patronage. If the stūpa of Barabudur was constructed by Samarottuṅga, as it appears to be, the work must have covered a part of the reigns of both the Bengal kings and must have been finished by 824 A.D.

For the religious inspiration of such a stupendous structure having national and international significance, one has to turn attention to eastern India, where a particular cult of the Vajrayāna-system held sway. The story of the evolution of that cult is quite interesting and may be briefly noted here. It may be recalled that there was a noticeable pantheistic trend in the Vajrayāna system in the early centuries of the Christian era. The five Dhyānī Buddhas had already entered into the Buddhist pantheon by the third century A.D. along with their respective Śaktis, as the *Guhyasamājatantra* would make us believe. By the seventh century A.D., the pantheon was enormous, though the Vajrayānists knew that the hosts of gods and goddesses were really *śūnya* in essence. It was therefore found imperative to evolve a primordial god. Thus was developed by the Nālandā-monks the conception of the primordial god Ādi Buddha who, in his human manifestation, is called Vajradhara. He is a monotheistic god, an embodiment of *śūnya*, to whom even the Dhyānī Buddhas owe their origin.



The conception of this monotheistic god was already well-known in the first half of the eighth century A.D., because Śāntarakṣita, high-priest of the monastery of Nalanda, who later on went to Tibet during the reign of Thi-srong-deu-tsan (b. 728, d. 786 A.D.) and was appointed the first abbot of the vihāra called Sam-yas in 749 A.D., had already composed a *Vajradhara-saṃgīta-bhagavat-stotra-ṭīkā*.<sup>27</sup> The establishment of the Pāla empire in the middle of the 8th century gave the cult powerful support and its adherents became numerous in the reign of Dharmapāla. The cult spread to Tibet, Sumatra and Java, among other places. We cannot definitely say who was responsible for the introduction of this cult in the Śailendra-kingdom of Central Java, but there are perhaps some indications in the Śailendra inscriptions. It may be recalled that an image of Ārya Tārā was installed by an un-named preceptor of the Śailendra-king Panāṅkaran, whom we identify with king Indra. Now the Kēlurak inscription tells us that Indra-Śaṅgrāmadhanañjaya was initiated by his preceptor who came from Gauḍidvīpa, i.e. West Bengal, and was no other than Kumāraghoṣa who has been mentioned in a later part of the inscription. Doubtless he was a *vajrācārya guru* from Pāla Bengal. It may be recalled that Tāranātha, a Tibetan historian, writing in 1608 A.D. on the basis of older records available to him, says that the Vajradharas had gained ascendancy in the kingdom of Dharmapāla,<sup>28</sup> and Buddhajñānapāda, a preceptor of king Dharmapāla and Vajrācārya of the Vikramaśīla monastery advised the king to perform *homa* and this was done for many years by the Vajradharas with this *ācārya* as their chief. It is clear therefore that king Dharmapāla had a preceptor who was an adept in the Vajradhara cult. Kumāraghoṣa who went to Java with the image of Mañjuśrī<sup>29</sup> in the reign of Dharmapāla seems to have been a similar

27. L. Chimpa and A. Chattopadhyaya, *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, p. 415.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 278, 280, 322.

29. Verse 10 of the Kēlurak inscription says: ".....this image (of Mañjuśrī) was obtained by me through the kindness of the *guru*." Obviously it was brought from Pāla Bengal. The mention of "blue lotus" and specification of the Dhyānī Buddhas in the inscription seem to indicate that the image in question was of the Mañjuvara-variety of Mañjuśrī. Vide, D. Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 117. Other varieties have different combinations of symbols, etc.



## IMAGE ON THE TERMINAL STŪPA OF BARABUḌUR 15

preceptor, though not necessarily attached to the royal court of Bengal. It seems very probable that Kumāraghoṣa initiated the Sailendra-king Indra to this cult. As Vājradhara is another name of Indra, the king's vanity must have received a halo-mark by this equation.

Now, Kumāraghoṣa was in Java in 782 A.D. when king Dharmapāla of Bengal, a devotee of the cult, had already ruled for 12 years. It is well-known that there was close religious and cultural connexion between Java and Bengal during the period we are speaking of. It is therefore interesting to note that some scholars find references in the Nālandā charter<sup>30</sup> to matrimonial relationship between the two royal dynasties. The Nālandā charter says: "Tārā was the queen consort of that king (i.e. Sāmārā-gravīra) and was the daughter of the great ruler Dharmasetu of the lunar race." The name Dharmasetu has been read as Varma-setu by N. G. Majumdar, and Dr. R. C. Majumdar considers the latter reading as "beyond doubt."<sup>31</sup> But if one reads Dharmasetu and identifies him with king Dharmapāla of Bengal it will furnish an additional proof of the close ties subsisting between the Pālas and the Sailendra-rulers. Dr. Coedès is however inclined to identify this Dharmasetu with the king of Śrīvijaya who built the sanctuary that prompted the inscription on the first Face of the Ligor inscription.<sup>32</sup>

Even if princess Tārā be not a daughter of king Dharmapāla, the stamp of the Vajradhara-cult, patronised by the Pāla king, has been very distinct in the Sailendra empire. It is well-known that traces of the sect have been found in Sumatra.<sup>33</sup> So far as Java is concerned, the influence of the sect has been impressive down the centuries. There are grounds to believe that the stūpa of Barabudur was managed by, if it did not exclusively belong to,

30. *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 310.

31. *Suvarṇadvīpa* I, p. 153, f.n. 1.

32. *The Indianized states of South-East Asia*, p. 109.

33. Vide in this connexion, *Tijd. Bat. Genoot.*, 35, pp. 48-74; *Not. Bat. Genoot.*, 1920, pp. 52 ff.; *Tijd. Bat. Genoot.*, 67, pp. 173 ff.; Stutterheim, *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, pp. 13 ff.



the Vajradhara-sect.<sup>34</sup> It is interesting to observe in this connexion that an Old-Javanese treatise called *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, of which another part goes under the name of *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya*, throws much light on the prevalence of the cult in Central Java.<sup>35</sup> The text extols the Vajradhara-cult and refers to novitiates, initiation, etc. Some parts of the work appear to be older than others. Goris is given the credit for disentangling three layers of the text. He believed that "the older part already existed during the Śailendra-period as a commentary to a Sanskrit work."<sup>36</sup> It has been suggested by another scholar that the system of Barabudur is the same as that of the oldest part<sup>37</sup> of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*. The details in the tract do not contain enough materials to warrant such a categorical statement, but whatever we have is not repugnant to the religious concept of Barabudur.

Barabudur was, as we have tried to show, a sepulchral monument containing the relics of the founder of the Śailendra dynasty, besides being a replica of the universe. In the latter sense, the summit or the terminal stūpa constituted the *arūpadhātu* (or formless sphere) of the Buddhist cosmology; the second sphere constituted the sphere of forms or *rūpadhātu*, the lowest being the *kāmadhātu* or the phenomenal world we live in. Buddha is said to manifest himself in these three worlds in appropriate forms, namely, with *dharmakāya* in the *arūpadhātu*, with *sambhogakāya* in the *rūpadhātu* and with *nirmānakāya* in the *kāmadhātu*. The terminal stūpa was thus the abode of the formless. This concept seems also to have been developed in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*. I should like to invite a reference to the well-known statement in that work which reads: "i taṇḍas nikang stūpa prāsāda śarīra ngka ta kahanan bhaṭara hyang buddha masamāhitarūpa

34. Stutterheim believed that it belonged to the Vajradhara sect. Vide, his *Studies*, etc., p. 54.

35. *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, 1910, ed. J. Kats; *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya*, 1935, ed. Wulff.

36. *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie*, (1926), pp. 151 ff.

37. Recension A.



## IMAGE ON THE TERMINAL STŪPA OF BARABUḌUR 17

nira ngkana." Mr. Kats<sup>38</sup> has translated the line thus: "In the head of the stūpa-prāsāda body, there is the place of Bhaṭṭāra Buddha, in Samādhi-attitude he dwells there." If we can conceive of Barabudur as having a stūpa-prāsāda body,<sup>39</sup> its head would naturally be the terminal stūpa, which is the place of the Lord, Holy Buddha seated in samāhitarūpa. Now this Bhaṭṭārā Hyang Buddha sitting at the apex of the stūpa-prāsāda is a *hyang* or spirit and *arūpadhātu* i.e. formless, but since he is also samāhitarūpa i.e. seated in samādhi (meditation) i.e. dhyānāsana or vajraparyāṅkā-sana, he can be viewed as Ādi Buddha, an embodiment of *śūnya*, in his human manifestation i.e. Vajradhara. The concept of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, as I understand it, is not therefore repugnant to the concept of Barabudur or the preamble of the Kayumvungan inscription.

With this knowledge gained from a theoretical consideration of the matter and indirect evidence provided by literature, inscriptions and the archaeology of Barabudur, we may now consider the cases of various deities for a place in the sanctum sanctorum, the terminal stūpa of Barabudur. Such statues may be the unfinished statue of the Dhyānī Buddha, the statue of Buddha, of Vairocana, Vajrasattva and Vajradhara. Let us examine these cases one by one from iconographical and scriptural point of view.

It seems to me that the unfinished statue of the Dhyānī Buddha, supposed by some to be the original image on the terminal stūpa, does not belong to that place. It appears that the Dhyānī Buddhas in the lower terraces conform to the demands of religious prescriptions and occupy the cardinal points. Since this unfinished statue sits in bhūmi-sparśamudrā, it doubtless refers to Akṣobhya, as other Dhyānī Buddhas sit respectively in samādhi, (Amitabha), dharmacakra (Vairocana), abhaya (Amoghasiddhi) and in varada (Ratnasambhava) attitude. It is important to note that he is

38. Folio 48b, translation, p. 104.

39. The phrase is controversial and I shall not attempt its explanation here. The data have also been utilised by Stutterheim, but in a different way (op. cit., pp. 48 ff, 58 ff.). In this connexion, see also Wulfi., op. cit., 5 and 70; Mus, *Barabudur* I, pp. 324 ff.



already represented in the cardinal points in the lower terraces and his location in the terminal stūpa would be somewhat anomalous. From that point of view, Vairocana could have better claim for room in the terminal stūpa. It may be urged in his favour that he is regarded by the Nepalese Buddhists as the oldest and the first Dhyāni Buddha and his place is in the sanctum of the stūpa, where he is the master of the whole temple and its contents.<sup>40</sup> He cannot be ordinarily represented outside the stūpa. A statue of Vairocana, which has disappeared, could have thus remarkably fitted into the theological demands of the terminal stūpa. Similarly, it is possible to conceive of an image of the mortal Buddha himself, sitting there in the vajraparyāṅkāśana, with earth-touching attitude, a mudrā peculiar to Akṣobhya also, for which reason it is impossible to distinguish the two images, unless colour or any other indication comes to our aid. Be that as it may, the image of the mortal Buddha, as described above, was very popular throughout the Buddhist world and was the main centre of attraction at Bodh Gaya between the 7th and the 10th century of the Christian era.<sup>41</sup> If we however imagine that since the lower terraces represent the four Dhyāni Buddhas at cardinal points, the installation of the image of Buddha in earth-touching attitude, though not unthinkable, would be rather unbecoming, specially if we remember relevant details in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* which extols the blessings conferred by the contemporary flourishing cult of Vajradhara.

Vajradhara is sometimes identified with Vajrasattva,<sup>42</sup> for which reason the place of Vajradhara in folios 15a, 16a and 16b of the *S. H. Kamahāyānikan* has been occupied by Vajrasattva. Even in India, Vajrasattva has sometimes been taken as one of the five Dhyāni Buddhas and at other times as the sixth. This confusion both in India and Java led the writer of the tract/its commentator to substitute him in folio 58b in the place of Akṣobhya. The reverse has also occurred. This equation of Vajrasattva with

40. B. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

41. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, p. 352.

42. N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, p. 23.



## IMAGE ON THE TERMINAL STŪPA OF BARABUḌUR 19

Akṣobhya in the *S. H. Kamahāyānikan* would not appear surprising if we remember that Vajrasattva is a regular development of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, who emanated from Akṣobhya, but unfortunately the conception of Vajradhara and Vajrasattva has been inextricably mixed up in sacred literature.<sup>43</sup> It is however worthwhile to note in this connexion that since Vajrasattva is not represented in the stūpa like other Dhyanī Buddhas, but has his own separate shrine, its statue is not likely to have been set up in the terminal stūpa. The elimination of Akṣobhya and Vajrasattva thus leaves the ground clear for Vairocana, Buddha and Vajradhara. Of these three deities, Vajradhara had the best chance of being housed in the terminal stūpa of Barabudur. He is the principal deity of the Vajrasattvamaṇḍala and his place is in the innermost chamber of the maṇḍala.<sup>44</sup> He has been described thus:

"When represented in human form, he (i.e. Ādi Buddha) begets the name of Vajradhara and is conceived in two forms, single and yab-yum. When single, he is bedecked in jewels, gaudy ornaments and dress, sits in Vajraparyāṅka or the attitude of meditation with the two feet locked with the soles of the feet turned upwards. He carries the vajra in the right hand and ghaṇṭā (bell) in the left, the two hands being crossed against the chest, in what is known as the vajrahūmkāramudra... The deity Vajradhara is embodiment of the highest reality śūnya. While Prajñāpāramitā represents karuṇā and in close embrace they turn into one śūnya in which karuṇā merges, and the duality ceases."<sup>45</sup>

The use of singular number in regard to the deity in the Kayumvungan inscription may signify that the deity was unaccompanied by his Śakti. It may also be interpreted in a different sense, namely that since duality has ceased and that Vajradhara and his Śakti are one, the uni-dual entity of śūnya is to be treated as one indivisible whole and the use of singular number may be justified from that point of view.

43. B. Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*, p. 43.

44. *Nispannayogāvalī* (G.O.S.), p. 8.

45. B. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. 43.



## III

The next question that confronts us is: if the image of Vajradhara was in the terminal stūpa of Barabudūr, where has it gone? Other statues of Barabudūr generally exist *in situ*, but why not the image in the sanctum sanctorum? As I have said already, the image seems to have been made of gold and served as the palladium of the dynasty. It was therefore very likely that king Bālaputra-deva, the last Javanese king of the Śailendra dynasty, fled with it when he left Java for good to reign in Sumatra. As Bālaputra's descendants called themselves Śailendras for the next few centuries, it is obvious that they considered themselves to be lineal descendants of the Śailendra rulers of Java. In Java thus remained Prāmodavardhanī and her husband to continue the dynastic traditions of the Śailendras. The reason why Bālaputradeva fled with the golden image on the terminal stūpa of Barabudūr is that it served as the palladium of the dynasty, and such a palladium or *kuladevatā* has always played important role in ancient history. Its loss would have meant loss of its protection and utter ruin of the dynasty. For that very reason, invaders have tried to grab it as a most valuable prize, as it meant easy transfer of power and allegiance of the people. It may be recalled that king Sañjaya had such a palladium in the Vukir-hill liṅga and king Devasiṃha in the image of Pūṭikeśvara. The succession of the Buddhist Śailendra dynasty in Central Java signified that the palladium of the dynasty will now be a Buddhist divinity. The palladiums of kings, whether Buddhist or Śaivite, have followed the fortunes of the dynasty. One may recall in this connexion the adventure of the Tooth-relic of Buddha, which was brought from India to Ceylon during the reign of king Mēghavarṇa (352-379 A.D.) and stayed on for several centuries at Anurādhapura, the first historical capital of Ceylon, as the palladium of the ruling dynasties. Then it moved from capital to capital with the varying fortunes of the kings. Thus, from Anurādhapura, it was shifted to Polunnāruva and then successively to other places including Karunagela, Dambadeniya, Gōmpola, Kotte and finally to Kandy where it is now kept at the Dalada Maliga. Similarly, Jayavarman II, a Hindu king of Cambodia (802-50 A.D.), installed the statue of Devarāja, which

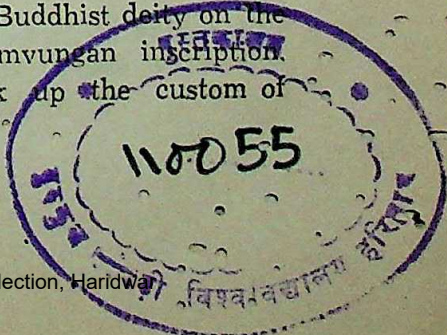


## IMAGE ON THE TERMINAL STŪPA OF BARABUḌUR 21

was a Śiva-linga, at Phnom Kulen, as the palladium of the dynasty. The successors of Jayavarman built other temple-mountains to house the palladium. It then successively moved, along with the then kings, from Hariharālaya (Rolues) to Bakheng, Koh Ker, Phimeankas, the Baphuon, etc.

The details furnished above will make it reasonable to hold the view that king Bālaputradeva could not have left behind him the palladium of the dynasty in the terminal stūpa of Barabuḍur, when he left the island for good. That such was the position can also be inferred from the data preserved in *Chu fan-chi* of Chau Ju-kua who wrote the work in 1225 A.D. The evidence no doubt comes from a later period, but it doubtless records a custom which had its origin some centuries back and was current in Śrīvijaya during Chau Ju-kua's time. Now, writing about this custom, he says: "There is (in San fo-t'si) a (kind of) Buddha (i.e. image) called 'Hill of gold and silver', and it is cast in gold; each succeeding king before ascending the throne has cast a golden image to represent his person, and they are most particular to make offerings of golden vessels to these images and golden vessels all bear inscriptions to caution future generations not to melt them down ....".

In other words, such golden statues representing some Buddhist divinity was cast in the image of the reigning king and was preserved from generation to generation. If such was the custom of the successors of Bālaputradeva for many generations before the time of Chau Ju-kua, i.e. the 13th century, there is every likelihood that the custom reverts to the time of Bālaputradeva himself who brought with him the golden image of Vajradhara-Indra, the palladium of the dynasty, from the terminal stūpa of Barabuḍur. It would not be realistic to think that Bālaputradeva suddenly gave up the custom of deification of his predecessors, as it involved not only a sacred religious duty but also the safety of the dynasty. Besides, there is a significant phrase in the statement of Chau Ju-kua quoted above. The phrase "Buddha called Hill of Gold and Silver" reminds one of the Buddhist deity on the hill (of Barabuḍur), as stated in the Kayumvungan inscription, and made of gold. It thus seems to link up the custom of





Śrīvijaya of Chau Ju-kua's time with that of Java in the Śailendra period. It is obvious however that in course of time certain modifications were introduced in the custom, as reigning kings came to be deified without waiting for being apotheosised in the reign of his successor. But that is another story.

Before I conclude, I should like to state that I recognise the insufficiency of the existing data, but I believe that the new interpretation of the data, as attempted here, does not conflict with any other known fact and may therefore merit consideration from a new point of view.



## Bhim-Betka Excavations\*

BY

V. S. WAKANKAR

It is about a century that we have been in search of early man's tools all over India. The discovery of artifacts by Deterra and Patterson in Sohan and other regions opened a new field; the efforts of several scholars were directed to find similar tools embedded in river gravels all over India. Right from pebble tools to microliths are being searched for every year and now more than a thousand sites have been plotted on the Indian map but no skeletal remains have been found so far. Since the discovery of several hundred shelters in Gandhi-Sagar and regions around Bhopal, I was hoping to find the remains of early man in his own permanent residential camps i.e. the hallows and deeps in rock shelters in sandstone and limestone regions of India.

Here in his later days i.e. during Mesolithic times he had started relating the stories of his achievements as hunter, expressing his emotions through dancing, his rituals as fire worship sacrifices and his hunting methods as disguised hunter, magical rituals for game and marksmanship with darts and arrows. All these have been vividly and vigorously painted on the natural walls of the caves and shelters throughout India. Since the discovery

\*The recent excavations at Bhimbetka (Jan. 73) have revealed the existence of stone structures of Mesolithic period in Rock Shelter No. 23 of III F Group and a semi-circular enclosure of heavy stones made during Acheulean period in TR. IV of BHIM. IIIA-30 Rock shelter. These structures are the earliest architectural features in India. Several round structures like stupa or Megalithic burials, stones with battered marks and a huge stone resting on four supporting stones have also been discovered. It was used by shelter dwellers as warning or musical drum. The marks of beating on the drum are visible on its periphery.

The work of the season, 1973-74, is being carried out by Vikram University in collaboration with Dr. Mishra of Deccan College, Poona and Miss Sussane Haas of Basel University, Switzerland.



of such paintings by A. Carlylle in Kaimur ranges in Mirzapur in the seventies of last century very little attention was given to this branch of archaeology.

Though Fawcett, Cockburn, Mitra, Ghosh and others had done some work in the study of caves and shelters, the real work was started by Hunter and Cordon. Lately Mr. & Mrs. Allchin's contribution is remarkable, in this field. Verma, Wakankar and Pande started exploring rock shelter study on archaeological basis.

I made an intensive study of Chambal area and attracted the attention of archaeologists to direct their efforts to find the early man's remains in and around shelters where he was residing since he learnt the art of making tools. Dr. G. R. Sharma and R. K. Varma of Allahabad University did much in the direction. R. V. Joshi and Khare did an extensive excavation at Adamgad and for the first time it was clearly established that the early man occupied the shelters early in palaeolithic times. My excavations at Modi gave for the first time the evidence of mesolithic paintings. Allahabad University's excavations revealed the burials dating back to 8000 years.

Recently Vikram University started the work of excavating and exploring one of the biggest sites of shelters in the world, which is situated on the northern out-crops of the Vindhyan sandstone hills, 26 miles south of Bhopal. This site is known as Bhimbetka (77.57 East 22.65 N). (The name is associated with the famous Mahābhārata hero Bhim and the huge boulders of sandstone are called the seats of Bhim). I discovered the site as early as 1958 and since then I have been exploring the region every year adding new shelters in the list. The efforts were assisted by Bābā Shāligrāmji of Durgā Ashram at Bhimbetka. A few years ago Dr. S. K. Pande and Chāchā Mukherjee assisted me in my explorations and we took some trial pits (50 × 50 cms) in several shelters at Kharwāi, Shahādkarā and Bhimbetka and found the remains of Mesolithic and chalcolithic periods in them. In a similar dig at Bhimbetka in 1968 I went a little deep in Auditorium Rock and found middle stone age tools made of sandstone. Dr. Sankalia and I again visited the site in 1969 and finally decided to start joint excavation by Vikram University & Deccan College



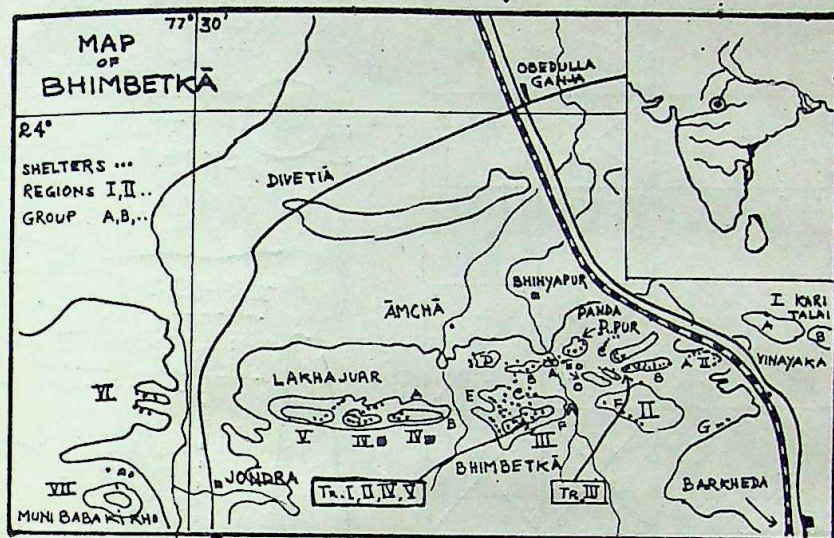


FIG. 1

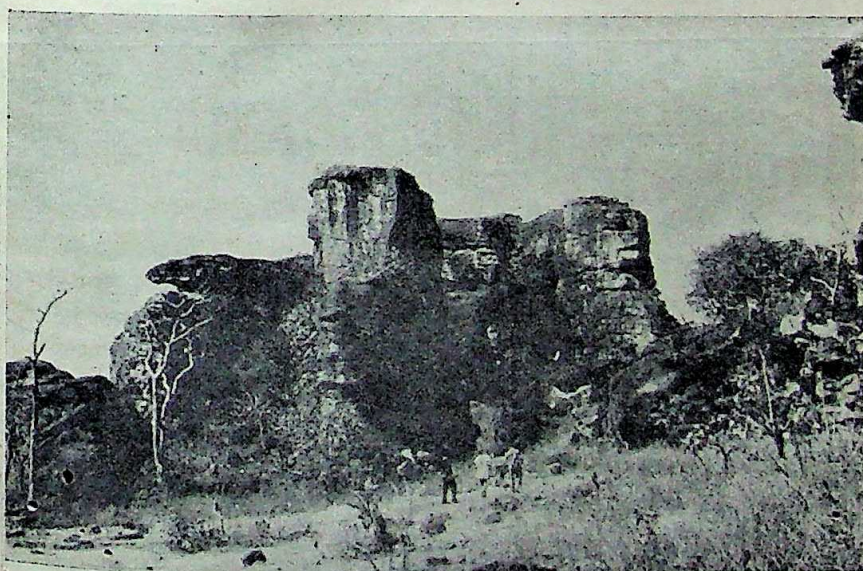


FIG. 2

Bhimbetka Auditorium Rock III F. 24 TR I & II were taken in this shelter



PERIOD	AGE	III F-24TR-I	III F-24TR-II	III F-16TR-IV	II B-33TR-III
VI	MEDIAL & RECENT	GLASS BANGLES POTTERY	GLASS BANGLES		
V	EARLY HISTORIC				
IV	CHALCOLITHIC				
III	MESOLITHIC				
II	MIDDLE PALAEO-LITHIC				
Ia	LOWER PALAEO-LITHIC				
GAP	LATERITIC SOIL	<b>BHIMBETKA EXCAVATIONS 1972</b>			
Ia	LOWER PALAEO-LITHIC				

FIG. 3



FIG. 4

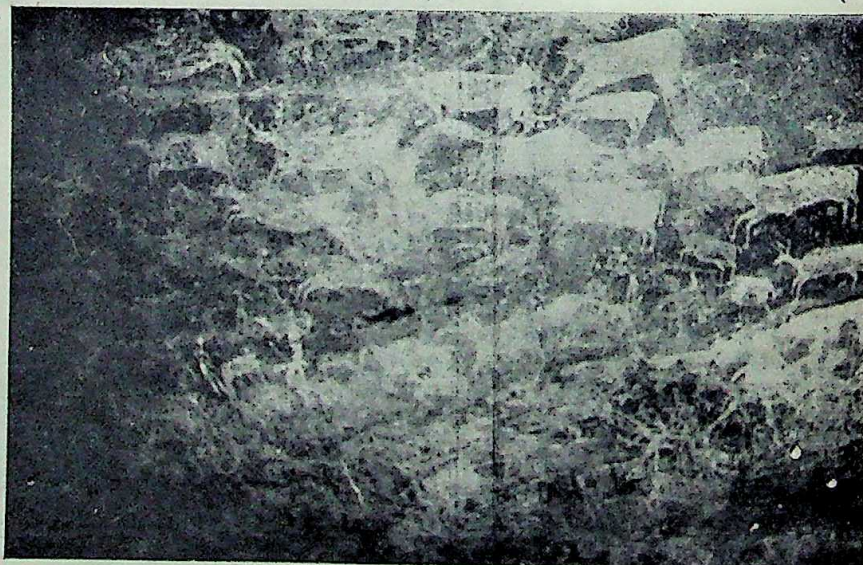


FIG. 5

Bhimbetka III E—White Paintings in Zoo Rock



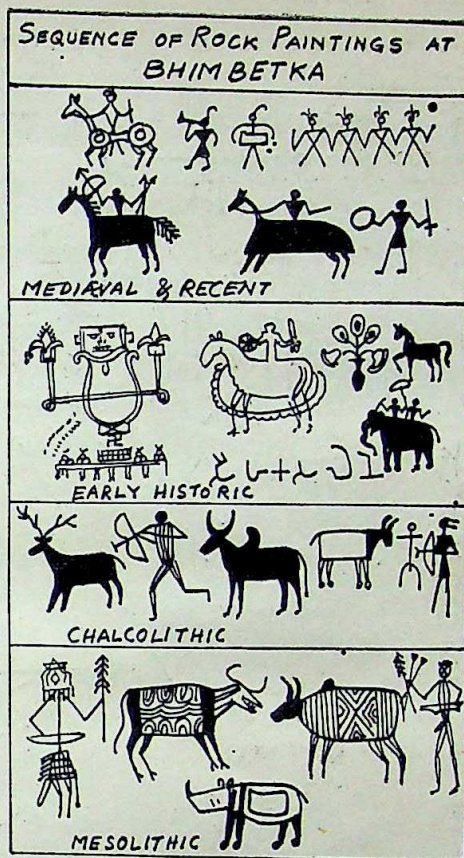
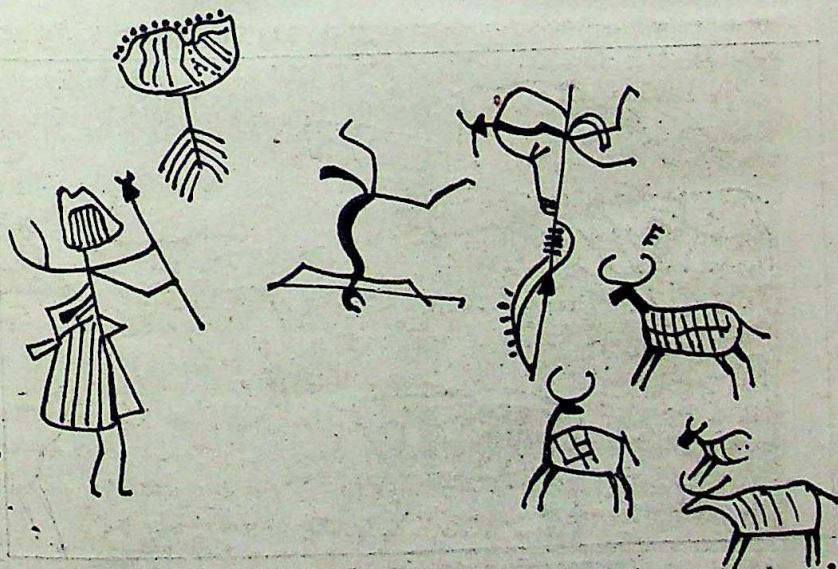


FIG. 6



MESOLITHIC GROUP, BHIMBETKA III E. 3

FIG. 7a



## ENGRAVINGS AT BHIMBETKA

II F - 5

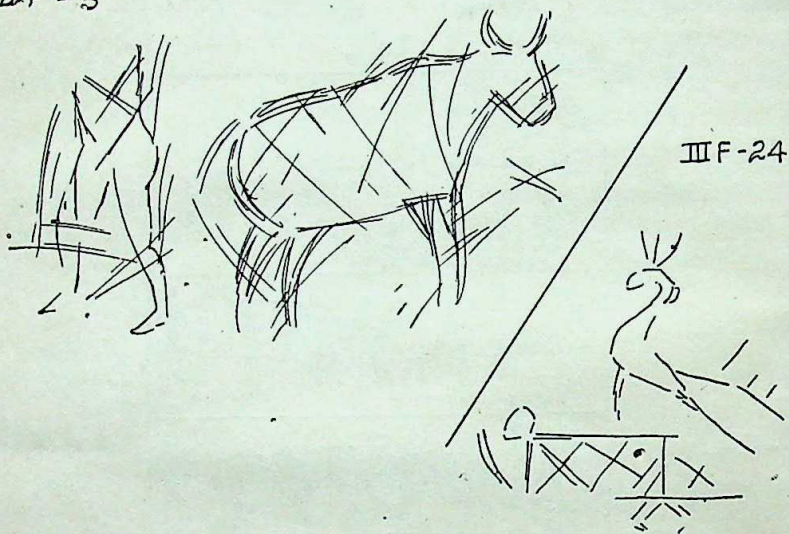
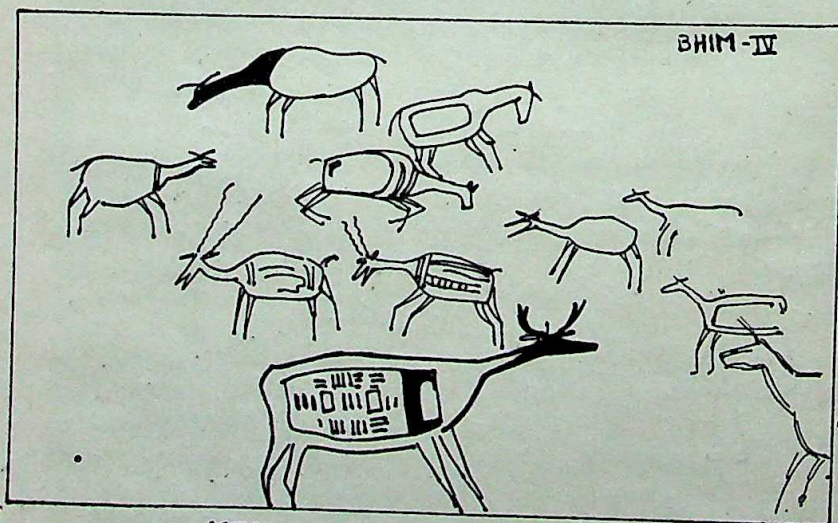


FIG. 7b



MESOLITHIC GROUP FROM BHIMBETKA

FIG. 7c



## BHIM-BETKA EXCAVATIONS

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and under the same scheme the first season's work was carried out by me assisted by four Research Scholars of Vikram University (Dr. S. K. Arya, N. A. Vyas, Daljeet Kaur Gill and J. C. Joshi). During our survey it was found out that the site extends to an approximate length of 8 miles. For a more scientific study the region was divided in VII areas and subdivided in groups of shelters. The number of shelters explored during this season reaches beyond 600 out of which over 500 are full of paintings (see Table A). We took 5 trenches in the following shelters:

BHIM — III F-24	TR I
BHIM — III F-24	TR II
BHIM — II B-33	TR III
BHIM — III F-16	TR IV
BHIM — III F-12	TR V

Following is the sequence of different trenches: (also see (Sequence charts).

Period VI Medieval and Recent Pottery.

Period V Early Historic Pottery & Microliths.

Period IV Chalcolithic Industry of microliths and Pottery.

Period III Mesolithic Industry of microliths and a few tools of upper Palaeolithic Tradition.

Period II Middle Stone age Industry.

Period Ib Acheulian Industry.

Period Ia Pebble Tool Industry.

The most important results came from TR I & II. In TR I immediately below mesolithic levels, starts the breccia in which the early stone age tools are embedded. The tools are made of sandstone. The cleavers increase in upper levels and are associated with scrapers on sandstones. The same industry of scrapers continues in upper layers without lower stone age tools and is got mixed up with mesolithic industry due to the sandy nature of the deposit. In middle levels of breccia, handaxes increase in number but the cleavers are not absent. The use of chalcedony was known to these tool makers (see Table B & C).



The TR II in the same shelters gives an interesting sequence.

In lowest level is the lateritic soils which has yielded several pebble tools. The deposit is covered by huge weathered boulders and reddish black soil probably formed due to weathering and humus. This 60 cms thick layer is a sterile layer and no tools were obtained from it. This is covered by reddish clay and unweathered stone and evolved Acheulian industry is found in the deposit. Here we have been able to detect a working floor where tools and flakes were lying *in situ* in levels with smoothened surfaces of rocks. This was the result of constant human occupation in those times. Still upwards we found a similar horizon in which the soil is yellow ochre in colour with a slight reddish tint. The industry from this level is associated with smaller scrapers of various sizes. Period II starts with predominant scraper industry. Hollow scrapers of various dimensions and side and end scrapers of small size are the dominating tools. The clastonian flaking is the main technic of taking out flakes but levalvoisian technique is also used.

This is followed by mesolithic, chalcolithic and early historic deposits.

When we come to the upper levels of chalcolithic period we find that the man in shelter came in contact with the chalcolithic localities in Malwa plains and borrowed pottery in exchange of jungle commodities but his economy remained the same as that of mesolithic period. The tool types i.e. triangles lunates trapeze and points remain the same as that of mesolithic levels (Table C).

The remains of floor levels of Acheulian tool makers in shelters is the real achievement of these excavations and it is not impossible to find out the skeletal remains of this period either in the breccia or in other deposits in shelters.

#### *Engravings at Bhim-betka*

In rock shelter group II F, No. 4 is a beautiful group of red, white and green colour paintings. One of them is an equal-size drawing of a monkey, rest of the drawings are as usual, but the



unique feature of this shelter is the group of tiny fine-lined engravings of human figures and bisons. These drawings are multi-lined sketches done by some fine hard point most probably a micro-burin. On the basis of stylisation they can be assigned the mesolithic date. They resemble much the Magdalenian engravings from Europe. These engravings have been made on the muddy white encrustation on the rock surface. In all there are three encrustations on the rock, earliest is highly reddish, next one is thick muddy white and over this the engravings have been made. The third is a thin dull white one which at many places clearly covered some part of the engravings.

Similar engravings of a peacock and a few other objects have been observed at Auditorium rock shelter.

In II B-33 and III F-24 it was observed that on the western rock wall (fallen rocks in both the cases) there had marks of battering on it which look like the South Indian neolithic gongs. Similar marks were observed at Bhainsatol Narsinh-garh and Camp rock Indergad. They are mostly to be found at the centrally located shelters. They are supposed to be for creating musical sounds to attract or call people or were done to assist dances as drum beats.

#### *Inscriptions at Bhimbetka*

There are more than fifty writings in Shankha Scripts a few in Gupta Brahmi and one engraved inscription in Asokan Brahmi script. The inscription in Asokan Brahmi is in the shelter III F-33 of Durga Ashram Rock. It is high up in a cavity which was once accessible because of a stone pavement erected during the period of the inscription. The inscription reads thus,

*sihakas lene* (the cave of a person named as Sihak)

The Gupta and Shankha script writings are the names of persons who either lived in these shelters or visited them. There are at least more than thirtyfive stupa like structures all over the site. Two small fortifications were observed at I-B and II-B. a long wall was observed near II-B-33 and three water tanks at the foot hills near Jamun Jhiri camp site and Lakhajuar. Some of the rock



shelters had huge platforms which in early historic or mediaeval times were used for residential purposes.

In pre-chalcolithic levels there are absolutely no bones, but in the upper levels several bones of animals and humans have been found. A few bones of human skull have been unearthed in Tr. III (II F-33), the regular burials have been found in III F-13 and 16. In 16, a nearly complete but sufficiently damaged skeleton was exposed just below the surface layer. It is in elongated position with its hand put over one another near the pelvis, the feet portions of the skeleton are missing and just near them is the mark of firing, indicating a partial burning of the body. Near the head was a big handi which was covered by a thin piece of stone. Further below the handi was an iron object, probably an axe. It was highly damaged. The skeleton was lined with thin pieces of stones on both sides of the body. Head was mostly damaged.

In RS III F-13, where Sagar University excavations revealed a burial, one more trench was taken. Two burials were exposed in Tr. V. No. 2 burial had a similarly buried skeleton but its portion below the chest was found missing. It had a handi towards its left side near the head. The skeleton had a terracotta bead on the chest and a bone stylus near it.

The third skeleton was also badly damaged and the ribs and vertebra were the only survivals. The damage to these skeletons was caused either by wild animals or by thin deposit of soil which was trodden by men occupying the shelters after the burials.

The skeleton from Sagar University's digging had two bowls to protect the head and hence it remained protected. The bigger bowl was kept below, and the smaller over the head, the head was turned towards left side, as was the case of SK No. 1. Both the skeletons measured 133 to 138 cms. There was no regular custom to follow particular direction for the body; all had different directions.

These skeletons including the Sagar one belong to Medieval period.

The work at Bhimbetka will continue for next five years as there is every possibility of finding remains of stone age man.



## BHIM-BETKA EXCAVATIONS

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TABLE A  
AREAWISE DISTRIBUTION OF ROCK SHELTERS AT BHIMBETKA

Area	Group of Shelter	Number of Shelter	Excavated Shelter	No. of trenches
I	A	7		
	B	3		
II	A	17	II B 33	TR. III
	B	72		
	C	18		
	D	19		
	E	42		
	F	9		
	G	4		
III	A	41	III F 12	TR IV
	B	22	III F 16	TR III
	C	80	III F 24	TR I & II
	D	4		
	E	26		
	F	50		
IV	A	63		
	B	70		
	C	20		
V	A	15		
	B	10		
VI	A	12		
	B	8		
VII	A	10		



TABLE B

1972

## BHIM III F-24 (AUDITORIUM) TR I ERECIA PALAEO LITHIC LEVELS (3 × 2 m)

Layer & depth	Nature of the layer	Cores	Discoidal Cores	Bigger flakes	Smaller flakes	Hollow scrapers	Points or lanceolates	Side scrapers	Ovates	Cleavers	Borers	Chalcedony pieces	Hand axes	Total
45-70 cms	ERECIA	8	5	32	57	—	2	15	2	17	—	—	7	145
70-95	"	10	—	18	24	—	2	2	—	9	—	4	5	72
95-120	"	2	—	48	12	2	2	3	—	15	—	DISC	5	89
120-145	"	2	—	14	24	—	5	—	2	10	—	—	10	71
145-160	"	3	—	10	11	—	5	—	—	13	—	—	11	53
160-165	"	4	2	6	9	4	—	3	—	3	1	—	9	41
		29	7	128	137	6	14	23	4	67	1	4	47	491



TABLE C  
1972  
BHIM III F-24 (AUDITORIUM TR II - PALAEOLITHIC LEVELS)

Layer & depth	Nature of the soil	Cores	Disoidal Cores	Bigger flakes	Smaller flakes	Hollow scrapers	Side scrapers	Ovates	Hand axes	Cleavers	Borers	Jasper or chalcodony	Total
3	Smaller chips and yellow ochre soil (Muddy appearance)	3	18	39	214	14	76	—	—	—	7	—	371
4	Same as above but bright yellow ochre	3	5	220	213	23	85	—	—	—	—	6	555
5A	Yellow ochre	—	—	—	138	10	41	—	5	26	—	—	220
110 cms	Acheulian floor II	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5B	Big boulders with	—	4	88	285	9	41	—	12	22	—	—	461
175 cms	Light red soil like deposit	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5C	Red soil & weathered boulders	—	—	144	134	12	—	13	20	25	—	—	336
210 cms	Acheulian floor I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	TOTAL	6	27	347	994	190	243	13	37	73	7	6	1943
6	Reddish black soil	No tools	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6	huge boulder	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	Lateritic deposit weathered boulders	Chopper like pebble tools	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		3 work continuing	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—



TABLE D  
BHIMBETKA BHIM. B-33 TR. III  
MICROLITHIC ASSEMBLAGE

Layers	Nodules	Cores =	Triangles (obtus)	Triangles (isosceles)	Trapeze	Lunates	Blunted back blades	Awls	Points	Smaller flakes	Blades and bigger	Flakes irregular	Chips	Total	Percentage
1.	Stone pavement of late medieval period														
2.	145	80	58	15	6	110	28	—	51	528	24	3	1100	2148	—
3.	2386	116	206	71	12	349	87	6	383	2264	387	512	11395	18174	—
4.	1654	259	81	22	6	598	18	30	58	1048	1089	510	19170	24595	—
Total %	4084	455	345	108	24	1057	133	36	492	3832	1529	1025	30565	54667	—
Total tools 9017 Nodules 4085 Chips 1565															

Early historic pottery, Iron knife, Arrow head  
Malwa chalcolithic pottery, Three copper objects  
No pottery



## Cilappatikaram as A Treatise on Dance

BY

LEELA OMCHERY

### Part-I

Cilappatikāram is considered to be the foremost among the *Pañcamahā kāvyas* of the Tamil Sangam epoch, which is said to have lasted over the period between 5th century B.C. to 4th century A.D. The story of this epic moves around Kōvalan, a young merchant of Kāvēripūm-paṭṭiṇam, Mādhavi, an Apsara-like dancing courtesan, in whose love, the young merchant forgets all about himself and dedicates everything he possessed to her, and Kaṇṇaki, Kōvalan's devoted wife whose love and sacrifice for her husband finally raises her to the level of *Pattini Daivam*—the Goddess among wives in whose honour temples were built in many parts of South India and Ceylon.

#### *The author and commentators*

The immortal epic was written by Iṅgō Aḍigal, the royal ascetic in the princely line of Cēra Kings. Some scholars consider him as a Śaivite while others, as a Jaina Saint. It is believed that the author was inspired to write the poem by one Sāttanār<sup>1</sup> who narrated to him the story of the merchant and his wife, like Sage Nārada who narrated the tale of Rāma to Sage Vālmiki.

Though the poem belongs to the early Sangam epoch, commentators seem to have appeared centuries after only. Of

1. Sāttanār is considered to be a great poet and saint who wrote *Maṇi-mēkhalai* another epic, which is placed next to *Cilappatikaram* from the story point of view. It is said that Sāttanār was an eye-witness to the later phase of the tragic tale of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇaki which saw the execution of the former<sup>a</sup> by the King of Madurai on the suspicion of theft of his queen's anklet and Kaṇṇaki's vengeance against the injustice shown towards her husband which ended in the burning of the whole of Madurai Kingdom and her reunion with her husband in Heaven.



them Arumpatavurai Ācīriyār and Aḍiyārkkū nallār were the foremost. Date and other details of these scholars are not exactly known. Basing on the nature of the commentaries, it is believed that Arumpatavurai Ācīriyār lived earlier than Aḍiyārkkū nallār—earlier enough that his *Urai* (commentary) became well-known and recognised when Aḍiyārkkū nallār appeared in the field to write his commentary, quoting freely from the former.

The treatment of the epic by Arumpatam is exhaustive and illuminative. Every term and word, especially those connected with dance and music are well-defined and explained with sufficient proofs and illustrations. Unfortunately the '*Urai*' of Aḍiyār is not completely available. A few portions seem to have been lost.<sup>2</sup> Aḍiyār, while dealing with literature, grammar, poetics etc. shows great and mature scholarship which perhaps excels that of Arumpatam. But in the treatment of dance, music and allied arts, he seems to have nothing more or better to contribute than what Arumpatam has done. In some passages where he deviates from the earlier commentator, he seems to have got lost. One has therefore to depend mainly on the *Urai* of Arumpatam for the study of the chapters and references to Fine Arts.

#### *Date of composition*

The controversy on the date of composition of the epic has not yet subsided. Most of the Tamil Scholars are eager to fix it at an early date while the scholars of Malayalam prefer a later date. The period of writing ranges between 5th century B.C. and 7th century A.D. Considering certain historical evidences like the installation of Pattinikkaḍavuḷ in South India and in Ceylon and a careful study of the astronomical data given by Aḍiyār regarding the Indra Festival, one may conclude that the epic could only have been written sometime in the second century A.D.

It is interesting to note that *Cilappatikāram*, in its treatment of Nāṭya and its music, bears striking similarities with that of *Nāṭya Śāstra* which also is believed to have been composed in its present form, around the same period. A closer study of these two

2. This is evident from the occasional comments in his *Urai* which direct the reader to certain passages, that are not traceable.



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texts may perhaps help one in arriving at an appropriate date for the Kāvya.

The epic is an excellent example of *Ilakkiyam* (Poetry) where we find a blissful blending of the three-fold forms of Tamil language viz. *Iyal*,<sup>3</sup> *Isai*,<sup>4</sup> and *Nāṭakam*.<sup>5</sup> The work consists of 30 chapters distributed among three sections called *Pukārkāṇḍom* (part of the story which happened in Cōla Dēśa) *Maduraikāṇḍom* (story took place in Pāṇḍya Dēśa) and *Vaṇci-kāṇḍom* (portions connected with Cēra Dēśa). In the beginning as well as in between these three sections there are collective verses called *Patikoms* which form the connecting link of the main story spread over the three sections.

*Importance of the poem from the artists' point of view*

Though *Cilappatikāram* is an epic dealing with the destiny of a young merchant and his devoted wife, it commands a leading place among the works which deal with the arts and culture of Tanjil Nadu during the Sangam period. Books like *Perumpāṇāṭṭrupadai*, *Tolkāppiyam*, *Puranānūru*, *Patirruppāṭṭu* etc. also contain interesting references to these arts. But the references in them are not exhaustive enough to get a complete picture of these arts and their technique. Only it is in *Cilappatikāram* that we find materials for an elaborate study of the arts and culture.

The poem refers to the geographical divisions of the ancient Tamil Nāḍ into five regions viz. Mullai-Nilam (Pastoral regions) Maruta Nilam (Arable lands) Palai Nilam (Deserts) Kuriñci Nilam (Hilly region) and Naital Nilam (coastal areas). All these regions had their own typical *viḷas* (festivals) *Kūttus* (Dances) *Pālais* (Basic modes), *Pans* (Rāgās), *Varis* (Songs) *Yāls* (Stringed instruments) which were tuned to their typical modes, and *Parais* (drums). Iḷango Aḍikal was so well versed in the arts

3. *Iyal* is Tamil verses like *Vempa*, *Akavarpa* etc. Of the metres used in the book, the author seems to have had a special liking for *Akavarpa*—a type of blank verse which is frequently used.

4. *Isai* denotes songs like *Vari*, *Kātai*, *Pāni*—etc. in their variety and diversity.

5. *Nāṭakam* means dramatic dialogues based on some story on incident like *Uraippāṭṭu* etc. which may be in the form of poetry or prose.



and sciences of every region, that in his poem he deals with all of them in detail and with mastery.

The chapter called "Indiraviḷa vūreḍutta kātai" deals with the festivals, music, dance etc. of the Maruta Nilam. "Kānalvari" another chapter deals with those of the Naital Nilam. The chapter known as Veṭṭuva Vari contains details about the arts of Pālai Nilam. Arts and festivals of Mullai Nilam and Kuriñci Nilam are described in Āyciyār Kuravai and Kunrakkuravai—respectively.

Not only regional dances and music, but also classical dance and accompanying songs and instrumental music are described in their traditional character and technical details. The chapters, Arangēṭṭrukkātai, Ūrkāṇ-kātai, Āyciyār-kuravai, Kaḍa lāḍu-kātai etc. treat dance exhaustively while the above chapters as well as other chapters like Kānalvari, Puramcēriyirutta kātai, Nāḍukāṇ-kātai etc. deal with the various techniques of Pālai music.<sup>6</sup> Not only the arts, but the artists and instruments are also described in detail.

Here an attempt has been made to study the arts—mainly dance and its music on the basis of the references given in the epic and on the basis of the famous commentaries.

#### *Status and popularity of the arts*

(a) *Arts in the village:* The epic tells us that Fine-arts were very popular throughout Tamil Nad and their technique,<sup>7</sup> very much advanced. As already said every region had developed its own typical festivals, dances, musical instruments and instrumental playing (XXV—24 to 32). The rural festivals and ceremonies were all connected with music and dance (XXIV; XII etc.). The amusements included *Tōrppāvaikkūttu*<sup>8</sup> (puppet shows), *Kalīṇaṭam*<sup>9</sup> etc.,

6. Pālai is a common term used to denote different technical aspects of music like Grāma, Jāti, Mēla and a particular type of yāl (stringed instrument). It stands for desert region as well.

7. Refer the 3rd article in this series for details.

8. We get casual references to the puppet-shows, an amusement which was very popular even during Rig Vedic times. But the epic does not supply details to any actual play being staged.

9. *Kalīṇaṭam* is a game with sticks which is elaborated in the third article.



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regional singing (XXIV; XII), group dances like) *Tamangai*<sup>10</sup> and *Kuravai* (X. 70) religious solo dances (XXIV—prose) and dances performed by male and female priests (XXI—6). There were local dancing halls called *Kāḷams* and public art theatres called *Kalai Manrams* (XII—11). Men and women, youths and maidens freely took part in the communal and religious singing, instrumental playing and dancing (XXIV).

*Arts in the cities and in the Royal house-hold:* Every lane and bylane of the vast cities was enlivened with the sound of vocal and instrumental music and dance (1.45; V. 169—189). There were a number of festivals like *Indra vila*<sup>11</sup> (C.V.) *Kaḍalādu-Vaipavam*<sup>12</sup> (C. VI) etc. which were all connected with music and dance. All distinguished statesmen including the King participated in them.

Not only courtesans and professional artists, but also lords, leading merchants and citizens and the King himself were all experts in music, and allied arts like painting.<sup>13</sup> Members of the aristocratic families, both ladies and lords were roused by artists, singing songs called *Nōttiram* (IV—72 to 80). Comparing the sweet tones of the *uāl* (stringed instrument) and *paṇs* (*rāgās*) with the sweet voice of the lady love by the lover was a common trait (V. 218 to 222; II—73 to 83) Roaming about the city by young men seeking sport in the pleasure gardens accompanied by minstrels singing to the *Kural* tune was a common sight (V—203). Lovers used to go to the beach and river beds to spend their evenings

10. All these dances are treated elaborately in the 2nd article of this series.

11. *Indra Vila* was a festival held in honour of Indra and is similar to the *Indradhvajōtsavam* mentioned in the *Viramitrodaya-rājanītiprakāśa*. The festival commenced on Saturday on the *Citra purnamī* and continued for a month. The important feature of the festival was the removal of the sacred drum from the Vajra kōtam temple to the Airāvata temple, where it was placed on the neck of the elephant idol called Airāvata, favourite of Indra. (2) Bathing of the idol Indra in holi waters amidst music and dance. (3) A variety programme of dance and music by leading courtesans and other artists before the King and the public.

12. *Kaḍalādu Vaipavam* had much in common with the *Jalōtsava* described in *Mahābhārata* and *Harivamśa*.

13. *Kōvalan*, an young merchant, was well versed in music (C. VII) *Val* playing (C. VII) in painting (II. 79) and in the dance technique (C. VIII). The king used to select the royal courtesan after judging the performances by young courtesans (C. III).



singing and playing the most<sup>o</sup> cherished instrument called *yāl* (CK VII).

The Royal amusements and festivities included dance, singing instrumental playing, *Nāṭaka*, *Hāsyā* and allied arts. The state recognised a number of distinguished artists and patronised them accordingly.<sup>14</sup> A number of artists were employed in the royal household on various duties connected with their own profession. After a day's heavy work, the king used to go to his pleasure resort called *Ilavaṇḍikaipalli*<sup>15</sup> to witness dance and music, along with his queen (X-1, 31; XXV-1-4).

The royal processions, both ceremonial and military, included artists proficient in various branches of art. They had significant roles to play on all such occasions. A King's commissariat during a war expedition consisted of the following under the leadership of *Sanjayan* (Ambassador) (XXVI. 128-40).

Chariots	..	100
Elephants	..	500
Horses	..	10,000
Carts	..	20,000
Kanjukār (distinguished messengers)	..	1,000
Nāṭaka Makalir (Dancing girls)	..	102
Kūḍiśai Kkuyiluvar (accompanists)	..	208
Nakai Vēlāmpar (Jesters)	..	100

#### *Status and privileges of the Artists*

Arts were practised and safeguarded as a family tradition. Different families practising different arts for generations became professionals and custodians of art in their respective fields. Thus there arose families of Perum Pānars<sup>16</sup> (V. 37) families of Nakai

14. Mādhavi the courtesan and Cakkiyār, the religious dancer from Paraiyoor were all state artists.

15. *Ilavaṇḍikaipalli* was the King's park in which there was a lake.

16. The term refers to a group of major traditional artists who were experts in singing major *Pālais* (Modes), *Pans* (Ragas) etc. and in playing superior *yāls* (stringed instruments). They were great masters who knew



## CILAPPATIKARAM AS A TREATISE ON DANCE 39

Veḷampars (XXVI-140) and Nāṭaka Maṭāntaiyar (XXVI-146) and a lot of other professionals (XXII-138) who lived on minor arts.

Most of the artists had a luxurious living. It is said that the distribution of the captured property was made among blacksmiths, spies, sooth-sayers, toddy-sellers, drummers; and celebrated bards who played on the *yāls* (XII-prose). There were separate streets both in Maruvūrpākom (a part of the city, V. 39) and in Kōviyan Vīti (Rājā mārga, V. 40) for Āḍarkkūttiyar—(courtesans, V. 50) perumpānar (V. 37) and for minor artists (V. 38) skilled in handling minor arts. Leading artists lived in palatial mansions which were often visited by princes, nobles and other dignitaries (XIV-146).

Promising artists often had the opportunity of presenting their art before the king (C. III. 121 to 154; XIII-38) who gave them gold and valuable gifts (III-154-164). They were introduced by the ambassador to visiting monarchs (XXVI-141 to 145) before whom also they exhibited their skill and got in return valuable presents.

The artists were exempted from harsh punishments (XIV-146 to 167). Killing or attacking the artists even if they belonged to the enemy's camp, was considered a hideous act. This privilege protected not only the artists but quite often warriors as well, by enabling them to escape the enemies' eyes in the guise of dancer or musician (XXVI-179).

*The practitioners of various arts*

The arts and crafts grouped under the title *Catuṣaṣṭi Kalās* by the Sanskrit texts were all prevalent in Tamil Nad and this is evident from the references found scattered in the poem.

There were the dealers of Vannam, cuṇṇam and cāntam (scents and cool sandal paste V. 13); Pūvu, Pukai and Virai

the whole technique of musical science and who could exhibit their faultless skill on the lute or flute tuned to 7 notes. They enjoyed high status as against the ciru Pānars (minor artists) who have skilled in presenting minor melodies and in playing minor instruments from among *yāls* and drums. Based on the above two groups, two exquisite poems have been written by ancient Tamil poets under the title *Perumpānāṭṭrupadai* and *Ciru pānāṭṭru padai*.



(various kinds of flower garlands, incense, and fragrant powdered seeds V. 14); Paṭṭu, Mayir and Paruthinūl (Silks, fur and cotton, V. 16); and dealers in Muttu, Maṇi and Ponnu (rare pearls, gems and gold V. 19). There were Pāsavar (sellers of betel leaves V. 26), Kāñcakkār and Compukkār (makers of bronze and copper vessels and statues V. 28), Marankōl-Taccar (makers of wooden curios V. 29), Kollar (black-smith V. 29), Kannūl vinajnar (male and female painters V. 30) Manniṭṭār (sculptors V. 31), Tunnakkārar and Tōlin-Tunnar (Experts in Tailoring and in making animal skin products V. 32), Paḷutil Ceyvinai pālkelu-makkal (skilled workers of fancy trinkets of silk etc. V. 34) Kāla-ganitar and Āyulvētar (astrologers and physicians V. 44), Tirumaṇi kuyiṭṭunar (those who dexterously bored holes in gems and pearls V. 46), Aṇivinaṭi poḷunar (Those who polished shells and conches which were borne as ornaments V. 47), Pū-vilai-maṭantaiyar (maidens bearing flowers and garlands V. 51), and Cirappin-nūlōn (architect XIV-98).

Then there were the Cūtar,<sup>17</sup> Mākatar and vēṭālikar (V. 48), Nāḷikai Kaṇakkar<sup>18</sup> (V. 49), Nalam perum kaṇṇuḷār<sup>19</sup> (V. 49), Kāvar-kani kaiyar<sup>20</sup> (V. 50), Ādarkkūṭṭiyar<sup>21</sup> courtesans (V. 50), Payil-toḷirkkuyiluvār<sup>22</sup> (V. 52), Panmuraikkaruviyar (V. 52).

17. Cūtar, Mākatar, and vēṭālikar are identical with the Sūtas. Māga-dha-s and Vaitālika-s of the sanskrit texts. They were the court minstrels whose function was to wake up the King through songs of praise and to entertain him with music when the King retires for rest. Some times Vaitālikas had the special duty of keeping the King aware of the different watches of the day and night.

18. A few scholars interpret it as the term standing for Tāḷajna-s while others take it for denoting astrologers. A third view is that it stands for those whose duty was to inform the King about the different watches of the day and night.

19. Shri V. R. R. Dikshitar interprets it as mock dancers while others take it for those who perform beautiful dances in attractive styles and attire.

20. The term may denote cheap courtesans or prostitutes or maid servants of leading courtesans.

21. Some scholars interpret the term as bag-pipe musicians while others as traditional instrumentalists. The word Kuyiluvakai denotes the 4 types of instruments viz., stringed, wind, metal and percussion.

22. Drummers who play on various types of drums during religious and festive occasions and during war times.



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Nakai-vēlampar<sup>23</sup> (V. 53), Perum-pāṇar (Major vocalists and instrumentalists (V. 37), Isai-yācirian (Music master III. 25), Nannūl-puravan (Poet and composer III. 44), Pādar-pāṇar (male vocalists of classical music V. 185). Paḍukala-makalir (female musicians VI. 157), Tōriya maṭantaiyar (female singers of a dance party XIV. 133), Panniyal maṭantaiyar (female singers of classical music XXVII. 139), Yālācirian (Master of harps and lutes III. 70-95), Koruvi-kkuyiluvār (instrumentalists V. 184), Panniyal pulavon<sup>24</sup> (V. 105), Taṇṇumai Mutalvan (Expert drummer III. 55), Kulalōn (Flutist III. 69). Ōviyar (Painters VI. 169), Āḍalāśan (Dance master XXVI-124; III. 25), Nāṭaka Makalir (Actresses well-versed in 64 arts (XIV. 167), Tuṇangai and Kuravai-kkūttar<sup>25</sup> (group dancers of different regions V. 70), Veriyāḍalar (rustic dancers of religious rites including males and females (XXIV. Prose; XIII. 1-14).

Among the state-patronised artists two group of dancers were of great importance, viz. Cāṅkiyār (the religious dancer) and Nāṭaka-matantaiyar or the Kaṇikaiyar, the courtesan.

## Cāṅkiyārs

They belonged to a community of Brāhmins (XXII. 38) from Paraiyūr and other villages, which were once known for Brāhmins well-versed in vedas and vedic rites. Later on they, having fallen from vedic life, took to dancing and singing (XII. 38). Due to the change of habits and profession these Brāhmins, who, though wore sacred thread, were considered inferior by other orthodox vedic Brahmins because, instead of pursuing *Kuladharmā* which was vedic recitation and vedic observances, they took to dancing and singing and other professions like making bangles, farming etc. They were grouped as *Laukika* Brāhmins as against *Vaidika* Brāhmins. Among the *laukika*-Brāhmins, those who practised

23. Vidūṣakar or jesters who developed their art and humour on the basis of the 96 types of Pāṣāṇḍom (Samaya śāstra) in which they were well-versed.

24. The term is used to denote classical artists who played Paps (ragas) on the *yāl* and to denote poets who composed songs according to the principle of classical music.

25. These terms are elaborately treated in the 2nd article in this series.



dancing and singing came to be called as *Ambanavar*.<sup>26</sup> The *Cākkīyār*<sup>27</sup> belonged to this community. Their main duty was to present before the King or before the devotees in a temple, puranic episodes exquisitely interwoven with current affairs through music, dance, acting and artistic humour.

### *The Courtesan*

They are referred to as *Kaṇikaiyar* (V. 50), *Nāṭaka maṭantaiyar* (XVII. 142), *Ādarkkūttiyar* (V. 50), *Kaḍaikālir-Makālir* (XIV. 71) etc. They "whose dark curly hair was loosely woven with shining garlands, whose incipient breasts were adorned with chains and whose long eyes resembled dark carps (XXVI. 105-115), were all goddess-like damsels who could tempt besides Kings and nobles, even ascetics (XIV. 63) and devas (VI. 72) through their physical charm and skill in dancing, singing and instrumental playing (XIV. 131). For generations they remained as the custodians of the 'Yenṇen-kalai' (64 arts XXIII. 138) and knew the "technique of the two musical conventions, 'vettiya' and *Poduviya*<sup>28</sup> and had perfect knowledge of the four characteristics of dancing, songs, time beats, the music of bag pipes accompanied by musical instruments of leather used in the dancing theatre. They also knew of the much renowned 'talaikkōl'<sup>29</sup> (111. 161) and of the sweet and seven fold strains and were accompanied by the *Tōriya-maṭantaiyar*<sup>30</sup> (XIV. 146-160)". They had such a mastery over dance, songs and instrumental playing (XIV. 146-167) that when they played, even goddess Earth wondered at their skill. (VII. 22). People forgot themselves in ecstasy when they heard their sweet voices blissfully and accurately blended with the notes of the lutes they were playing (VII. 24).

26. The leader among them was called *Kūttul paḍuvōn* (XXVI. 125).

27. The family of *Cakkiyār* with the same duty and career are still found in Kerala. *Shri Māṇi Mādhava Cākkīyār*, an outstanding artist from among them received state award just a few years ago.

28. Refer to the second article in this series for explanations.

29. The term here refers to a staff awarded by the King to the leading courtesan while recognising her as the "State dancer" in view of her inimitable skill in the field of dance and music.

30. Accompanying lady musicians.



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*Their status and way of life*

The courtesans lived in a far famed street and led a very costly and self-indulgent life (XXII. 139). Not only nobles, rich merchants but even crown-princes visited them frequently though secretly (XIV. 146). Their beautiful mansions always resounded with the sweet sound of *Mrdāṅga* (drum), music from the *kuḷal* (flute) and *yāl* (harp or lute, XXII. 135-138). The leading courtesans were recognised as state artists and were patronised accordingly (III. 154-164). They were all loyal to the King and nobles and delighted them through their art and physical charms and the paramours in turn gave them valuable presents like covered carts, palanquins, sleeping couches with jewelled golden legs, etc. (XIV. 120-145). The costliest dress, ornaments, scents, flowers and all those rare toilet belonging to various parts of the country and abroad were easily available to them (XIV. 76-86). The gifted courtesans were always in great demand and the remuneration for a dance performance generally consisted of 1005 *kaḷanjus* (a weight) of gold, a *navaretna-māla* (jewelled chain or necklace) costing about the same amount (C. III). The leading musicians also earned about 1005 *kaḷanjus* per day, besides valuable gifts (XIV. 160-167).

Prostitution by courtesan was not considered a crime (V. 128-134) though practice of vices by cunning wives was treated as a serious crime. Also they were exempted from punishments like walking around the city, bearing seven burnt tiles on their head (XIV. 148) followed by hooting crowd, a punishment meant for inflicting disgrace on a person who was at fault.

They drank sweet wine from golden goblets kept ready for use by their female attendants (XIV. 134) and led a carefree life. In the festivals, the courtesans had prominence both as leading performing artists as well as distinguished visitors to amusements and activities other than music and dance (VI. 155-156). In the scenes of festivals, there were decorated enclosures reserved for leading dancers from where they could see and enjoy various shows (VI. 158). There were white-legged canopies with beautiful paintings surrounded by screens, under the tree shades, where these courtesans sat and enjoyed themselves



in the company of their paramours<sup>31</sup> (VI. 166-170). They quite often lost all shame and chastity, accompanied their rich lovers to the pleasure gardens (XIV. 70) and engaged themselves in water-sports and rowed in beautiful boats with high cabins (XIV. 75). Because of their wreckless life and their nature of wrecking the citizens physically and financially, men of decency sometimes treated them as social disease (XI. 90) and considered their way of life, to be the worst of all careers (XI. 90).

*Their duty towards the state:*

The main duty of the courtesan was to entertain the King and the citizens with dance and music in different kinds of costume and make-up at the end of the state festivals (VI. 72-75). She was also expected to entertain the King and Queen with dance and music during their leisure time when they would retire to the *Ilavandikai-ppalli* (X. 1.31) after a day's hard work. During the visits of guest monarchs it was customary that like other leading citizens of the state, the recognized state dancers and other artists from different parts of the country also visited them and paid their respects (XXVI. 105-124). *Sanjaiyan*—the chief ambassador introduced them to the visiting King (XXVI. 141). It was the duty of the courtesans to entertain these monarchs with pleasing songs of praises like *Kārkkuravai*<sup>32</sup> (XXVI. 162-21), *nānivarī* (XXVI. 105-115) set to appropriate ragas and seasons. Not only during festive occasions and peaceful times but also during military expeditions the courtesans were expected to accompany the army perhaps for entertaining the king and the military men. About 102 courtesans were on duty in such military expeditions (XXVI. 128-40).

*The courtesan's toilet, ornaments and dress:*

Besides the casual references, an exhaustive description on the above is available in the chapter called *Kaḍalādukātai* in ver-

31. One of the ways of selecting the paramour was to ask maid servant to stand in the main road, with the *mavaretnamala*—a costly necklace received from the King as a gift, and to announce that he who would buy the necklace for 1008 *kalanjus* of gold would become the temporary husband of the courtesan to whom the necklace belonged (C. III 164-75).

32. *Pānivarī* and *karkkuravai* are treated elaborately in *Nāṭya Music*. the 3rd part in this series.



ses between 75 to 105, where Mādhavi, the leading courtesan is described as preparing herself to meet her lover.

The courtesan massaged her hair with fragrant oils and then washed it with warm water boiled in *pattu -ttuvarai*,<sup>33</sup> *Aintuvirai*<sup>34</sup> and *Muppattiruvakai-Ōmālikai*.<sup>35</sup> Then the whole hair was dried up in fuming incense<sup>36</sup> and *Kasturi* oil was applied over it. After proper combing the hair was splitted into five plaits each of which was decorated with flowers<sup>37</sup> like *Mullai* (Jasmine), *Āmbal* (water lily), *Neydal* (red lily) etc. and were woven loosely with garlands fastened with pearls secured from great harbours (XXVI. 74-78). Over her forehead, she applied *Tilaka* (XXV. 146) and over the head, she wore stone-studded head ornaments of gold like *Daivamutti*, *Valampuri Toyyakom*, *Pullakom*<sup>38</sup> etc.

She painted her bosom with red sandal paste and further beautified it with garlands of *senguḍu* flowers (XIV. 97) and *Pāṭalai* (leaves) interspersed with segments of tender lotus stalk, lotus flower, blue flowers etc. (IV. 45-50).

On her feet she applied red dye and on her toes, she wore *Anis* (ornaments) like *Makaravāi-mōtiram*, *Pīli*, *Kalāli* etc. She wore on her ankles *Pariyakom*, *Nūpuram*, *Pāḍakom*, *Catankai* etc. Her beautiful and well shaped thighs were decorated with a pair of gold ornaments called *Kurangu-ceri*. Over her waist she had a girdle made of 32 strands of *Paru-muttu* (large pearls) stitched over a blue silk embroidered with golden figures and flowers.

She had on her tender fingers different kinds of *Mōtiram* (rings) made of gold, rubies, diamonds, and emerald. Around her

33. *Pattu-ttuvarai*—It is called as *deśarektakam* in sanskrit literature. It is compound of 10 kinds of astringents.

34. *Aintu-virai*—It is called as *Pañca surabhi* in Sanskrit and is a mixture of fragrant substances including camphor.

35. *Muppattiru-vakai-Ōmālikai*—*Dvātridaśat dhūpakom* in sanskrit consists of 32 kinds of ingredients including musk, butter etc.

36. The incense was made by mixing the *ayir* (a fragrant substance, white in colour) from Western hill and *agar* (a black substance) from the Eastern hill (IV. 36-40).

37. There were separate streets in the city where paints, cool pastes, incense, fragrance, flowers, scents, etc., were available (V. 10-23).

38. For an elaborate description of the ornaments of the courtesan regarding their shapes, and makes, please refer to the Tamil article by Shri Somasundara Desikar appeared on the *Kalai-makal* Vol. I. pp. 284-288.



waist, she wore a *sūḍakam* (bracelet) studded with costly gems, *kai-vaḷai* (gold bangles), *vāl-vaḷai* (bangles made of silver or conchs), *Paviḷa-vaḷai* (bangles of pearls) and *Muttu-vaḷai* (bangles of beads). Her upper arms were ornamented with *Tōḷ-vaḷai* (gold armlets) studded with pearls. Along with the armlet, she wore *kāmar-kandilkai*—a bangle type of gold ornament.

The beauty of her delicate and handsome neck was magnified by wearing *cankili-s* (chains) of gold like *Nūn-toḍar*, *Punai-vinai*, *Muttāram* etc. Her ears glittered with *Kutampai*, i.e. studs of gold, *Indraṇila* and *Cakrapāṇi* diamonds.

#### *Costumes:*

The dancing girls belonged to different regions and theatres (XXVI. 68-73) and as such they appeared in their respective dress and ornaments (XXVI. 105-115). The costume of the courtesan included a rich variety of silks like *Arattappūmpaṭṭu* (XIV. 86), with golden embroidery and various types of fur, woollen, and cotton attires stitched by expert tailors (V. 20-23). They sometimes wore very fascinating costumes also (V. 64-75). During their performances, the dancers used to have costume and make-up typical to the character they portrayed (VI. 64-67; VI. 72-75).

#### *Training of a courtesan*

The courtesans who sang and danced before the Kings and the learned public, were all state artists. The recognition of a dancer as the state artist, known as *Talaikkōl-paṭṭom* (III. 3) was a coveted honour in those days. It was awarded only to those who were enchantingly beautiful and outstandingly well-versed in dance, vocal and instrumental music (III. 8). Only those courtesans who were initiated into the art by traditional master (XXV. 20) and who underwent vigorous training in the same could aim for such a status. The initiation into the dance was called *Tāṇḍiyam-piḍittal* and was considered as a sacred ceremony.

#### *Tāṇḍiyam-piḍittal*<sup>39</sup> (initiation)

This marked the beginning of a vigorous training in the triad forms of art lasting over a period of seven years, starting at the

39. Refer III 10-12 and also Bharata sēnāpatīyam.



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age of five (III. 10-12). The ceremony took place in the central hall of the mansion of the courtesan. An auspicious day and time were fixed for the initiation. On the scheduled day a large square of rice was made on the floor of the central hall. Two senior lady dancers—retired courtesans probably—stood at the two sides of the square, holding a stick at its both ends. The girl who was to be initiated was asked to stand in the square of the rice and was made to clutch the stick at its centre with both the hands. Then she was asked to take steps according to the beat given by the dance master, with a stick on a hollow wooden block.

Thus the courtesan started her leasons in dance. She was given training in singing and instrumental playing simultaneously, lasting for a period of 7 years. After the successful completion of her training she was allowed to perform the *Arangēttam* (maiden dance performance) before the King and selected citizens in order to win the state's recognition and royal patronage. This was at the age of 12 (5 + 7) and it was only after the *Arangēttam* she could start her career as a courtesan.

*Arangettram* (Maiden performance III. 115-160).

It took place in the *Aranku* (Stage) of a *vidyā maṇḍapam* (theatre) built according to the rules laid down in the *Tūl* (*Vāstu śilpa śāstra*). An auspicious day was fixed for the performance. The stage, the theatre hall, its surroundings etc. were illuminated with innumerable lights and were all decorated with the various types of silks, flowers, garlands etc. in view of the ceremony.

On the day fixed for *Arangēttam* the dancer bathed in holy waters and dressed and decorated herself in her best. Her *talai-kkōl*—the staff used by the dancer as an equipoise too was bathed in sacred waters and was decorated. Afterwards she and her group of relatives, friends and accompanists proceeded to the temple carrying the *talaikkōl* in a golden pitcher to meet the ruling monarch, his retinue and the royal elephant. In the presence of the King, the *talai-kkol* was given to the elephant. After this, the King and his *Aimperumkulū* circumambulated the chariot and the elephant and gave the *talai-kkōl* to the musician-composer on the top of the chariot amidst instrumental music. Thereafter the whole party went in procession around the city and finally reached



the *kalai-manram* (theatre). The *talai-kkōl* was placed in its appointed place over the stage with all adoration and sacredness. The instrumentalists occupied their allotted seats and the lady musicians gathered themselves by the side of the pillar on the left side of the stage. The King and his party sat themselves in front of the stage.<sup>40</sup>

After all these arrangements, the dancing girl entered the stage placing her right foot on it first and stood on the right side of the stage and pillar. Songs, called *Varam* for warding off the evil and for showering peace and prosperity to the artists and audience, were sung consequently by the dancer and her *tōriya-maṭantaiyar* (lady singers). At the end of the prayer, the orchestral music commenced. The *Yāl* (*viṇa*) was in tune with the *kuḷal* (flute) and *Tannumai* (*Mṛdanga* or *Maddala*) was in tune with the *yāl*. The *Mūlavu* (another drum called *Kudamuḷa*) was in harmony with *Tannumai* and *Āmantrikai* (yet another drum called *Idaikka*), followed *Mūlavu*. In short every instrument was in perfect unison with the other. Soon after the orchestral music, the courtesan started her dance which continued for hours. Ably assisted by her orchestra consisting of *Āḍalācān* (dance master), *Isai-yācīriyan* (musician), *Pulavan* (composer and poet), *Kuḷalōn* (flutist), *Yālācīriyan* (Harpist) *Tannumai mutalvan* (Mridangist), *Tōriyamantaiyar* (female singers), the young courtesan, like a beautiful flower made of gold, presented various kinds of dances belonging to the *Mārga* and *Dēśi* styles, and also classical and regional varieties.

40. An assembly of five distinguished persons consisting of the minister, the *Purōhita* or the priest, the commander-in-chief, ambassador, and the spy.



## The Battle of Venbai : A Reassessment

BY

H. SARKAR

In the Velvikudi grant<sup>1</sup> of the third year of Pāṇḍya Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (c. A.D. 765-815), there is a reference to a battle at Venbai, which has been hailed by Nilakanta Sastri as "a landmark in the history of inter-state relations in South India."<sup>2</sup> The battle was fought around A.D. 750 during the reign of Māravarman Rājasimha I (c. A.D. 730-765) between the Vallabhas or the Cālukyas on the one side and the Pūrvarājar aided by Māraṅgārī's army on the other. It was Māraṅgārī who was the executor of the grant; further, this important episode has been mentioned only in connexion with his achievement—and not in the exploits of any of the Pāṇḍya monarchs.

The Vallabha has been identified with the Cālukyan king Kīrtivarman II,<sup>3</sup> while there is hardly any unanimity regarding the identification of the Pūrvarājar. H. Krishna Sastri, the editor of the inscription, takes the Pūrvarājar, as the chiefs of Gaṅga-vāḍi, subordinate to the Western Gaṅga kings.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, S. Krishnaswami Iyengar is inclined to connect them with the Pallavas of Kanci.<sup>5</sup> Again, H. C. Raychaudhuri attempts to identify the Pūrvarāja with the Pāla rulers of eastern India, for the Bādāl pillar inscription, he argues, makes specific mention of

1. H. Krishna Sastri, "Velvikudi grant of Nedunjaḍaiyan: the third year of reign, *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII (1924), pp. 291-309.

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, "The Battle of Venbai," in *India Antiqua* (Leyden, 1947), pp. 254-56.

3. According to K. G. Sankara, "this battle was fought about the time of Vikramaditya II's invasion in c. A.D. 740." See his "The Velvi-kudi plates and the Sangam Age," in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LI (1922), pp. 211-217.

4. H. Krishna Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

5. In his introduction to *The Pallavas of Kanchi*, by R. Gopalan, pp. XXVII-XXVIII.



the facts that, Devapāla defeated the Utkalas, Huns and Gurjaras besides humbling the pride and conceit of the lords of the Drāviḍas.<sup>6</sup> All these scholars take the word in the sense of the king or kings of the east but K. G. Sankara,<sup>7</sup> and subsequently Nilakānta Sastri, translate it as the previous king or kings. According to Nilakanta Sastri, "Pūrvarājar" has also the meaning 'ancient kings' and may be taken to refer collectively to the three ancient monarchs of the Tamil land, Pāṇḍya, Cēra and Cōḷa of whom the Pāṇḍya enjoyed hegemony in this period."<sup>8</sup>

It may be pointed out here that a proper identification of the Pūrvarājar is dependent largely on the location of Veṇbai where the battle took place. So far, however, no attempt has been made by these scholars to identify the place. Nilakanta Sastri is inclined to place it somewhere in or near the Ganga territory; at least the order of sequence in which the events during the rule of Māravarman Rājasimha I has been arranged by him points to this conclusion. He reconstructs the events as follows "The Velvikuḍi grant itself describes in glowing terms the expansionist policy followed by Māravarman Rājasimha who crossed the Cauvery, subjugated Maḷakoṅgam, reached Pāṇḍikkūḍumuḍi and directly threatened the Gaṅga kingdom. At this juncture unable to meet single-handed the onslaught of the powerful invader from the south, Śrīpuruṣa must have sought the assistance of his suzerain Kīrtivarman II. The result was a defeat in the battle of Veṇbai ...."<sup>9</sup>

Instead of going into the merits and demerits of various theories it would be better first to make an attempt to identify

6. H. C. Raychaudhuri, "The Pūrvarāja of the Velvikkudi Grant," *Krishnaswami Iyengar Commemoration Volume* (Madras, 1936), pp. 197-200.

7. K. G. Sankara, *op. cit.*, translates the passage quite differently. For him *pūrva-rāja* is just "the previous king."

8. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 256. He has shown the defects of the previous theories propounded by Raychaudhuri and Krishnaswami Iyengar. But there is no comment at all on Krishna Sastri's theory which appears to be more reasonable than that of the others. By implication, Krishna Sastri also locates the battle-field somewhere near the Gaṅga country.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 256. In his *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* (London, 1929) he took *pūrvarājar* in the sense of "eastern kings."



Veṇbai. Several Pāṇḍya records refer to a place called Veṇbai-kuḍi<sup>10</sup> which has been identified by some scholars with Vemban-kudi, either of the Sivaganga or Aruppukkottai Taluks of the Ramanathapuram District.<sup>11</sup> It is not unlikely that Veṇbai-kuḍi was located in the division of Veṇbaikkūḍi-nāḍu mentioned in several Pāṇḍya records. Perhaps the battle of Veṇbai has been referred to as the battle of Veṇbaikkūḍi in the Dalavāyppuram copper-plate grant of Parāntaka Vira Nārāyaṇan Pāṇḍya.<sup>12</sup> If Veṇbai of the Vēlvikuḍi grant can be equated with Veṇbaikkūḍi of other Pandyan records, one cannot but locate it in the Pāṇḍya territory. In that case the Pūrvarājar cannot be outsiders chasing the Cālukyas deep into the Pāṇḍya country. Probably, they represented the feudatory chiefs occupying the eastern region of the kingdom; and they must have accepted the Pāṇḍya overlordship in the wake of the revival of the Pāṇḍya power.

The testimony of the Vēlvikuḍi grant itself may show that several battles were fought within the Pāṇḍya territory, evidently to bring the feudatory chiefs under control. In the military exploits of Arikēsari Māravarman (A.D. 670-700) one comes across several references to battles like the ones fought at Pāli and Nelvēli between the Pāṇḍya army and certain local chiefs, because in the same context, mention is made about the destruction of the Paravas, who certainly occupied the south-east coast of the Pāṇḍya country. Even Śaḍaiyan's (also called Raṇadhīra) conflict with the Mahārathas at Maṅgalapura took place near about the Pāṇḍya country, as recently K. G. Krishnan, on the basis of the Madurai inscription of Pāṇḍya Cēndan has located the city founded by Cēndan himself, somewhere close to the Pāṇḍya country.<sup>13</sup>

10. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar (ed.) *South Indian Inscriptions*, Volume XIV (The Pāṇḍyas), No. 106. For Veṇbaikkūḍi-nāḍu, see nos. 16, 27, 65 etc.

11. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, II, pp. 15-21.

12. T. N. Subramaniam, "The Dalavayppuram Copper Plate Grant of Parantaka Vira Narayana Pandya," *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, (Madras, 1969), pp. 1-31. Also *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, for 1958-59, pp. 4-5.

13. K. G. Krishnan, "Madurai Inscription of Pandya Chendan, year 50, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 27-32 (in the press). Evidently, it is futile to identify this Mangalapura with Mangalore on the west coast.



Now, a question may be raised whether the feudatory chiefs could be addressed as *rāja*. Without any doubt, the answer is in the affirmative. The executor of the grant calls himself a prince of the Vaidya family of Karavandapuram, identified generally with Ukkirankottai in Tirunelveli Taluk. Furthermore, several of the prominent generals and ministers of the early Pāṇḍya rulers came from this family. For instance, the *vaidya-śikhāmaṇi* Māraṇkāri of the Vēlvikuḍi grant was succeeded, as it is known from Anaimalai inscription, by his younger brother, Māraṇ Eyinaṇ.<sup>14</sup> Evidently, the office of the ministership under the Pāṇḍya rulers was a hereditary one. Moreover, the Maḷava king, who has been mentioned in this record as *mahā-kulīnām* Maḷavendra, also appears to be a feudatory chief: Maḷava is taken to be identical with Maḷa-nāḍu. It thus appears that the feudatory chiefs were also known as *rājas*, and they ruled over their respective regions under the overlordship of the Pāṇḍyas.

It seems, therefore, that the battle of Venḅai was fought within the Pāṇḍya territory evidently as a sequel to a Cālukyan attack, probably under Kīrtivarman II, when he was a *yuvarāja*. Significantly, the records of the Cālukyas as well as the Saman-god plates of Dantidurga allude to the victory over the Keralas, Coḷas and Pāṇḍyas,<sup>15</sup> but it is doubtful, in the face of evidence, supplied by the Vēlvikuḍi grant, if the claims so far as the Pāṇḍya country is concerned, contain much truth. At the same time, it is inexplicable why a Pāṇḍya victory over the Cālukyas does not find any mention in the achievements of the king Maṇavarman Rājasimha, despite the fact that several other victories have been referred to in the same inscription. As stated earlier, this momentous event has been described only in the list of achievements of the Pāṇḍya minister who was also the executor of the grant. On the other hand the marriage of the Ganga princess with Koṅgarkōṇ finds mention in the exploits of both the king and his minister. Thus, in all likelihood, the Pāṇḍya king was not directly or personally involved in the battle of

14. For exploits of the other members of the same family, see *South Indian Inscriptions*, XIV, pp. (ii-iii).

15. *The Early History of the Deccan*, parts I-VI (Oxford, 1960), pp. 229-31.



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Venbai which was fought by his feudatories occupying the eastern parts of the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam against the advancing Cālukyan army. May be, at the beginning, Rājasimha failed to stem the tide of the Cālukyan attack but subsequently it was repulsed by the combined forces of the Pūrvarājar, assisted by Māraṅgārī's army.

It is by no means clear from the inscription whether the Gaṅga ruler was at all involved in the battle of Venbai. No doubt, Rājasimha contracted matrimonial alliance with the Gaṅgas and this very incident is referred to also in connexion with the achievements of Maṅgari. Again, the references to the conflict at Venbai and the marriage of the Gaṅga princess with Koṅgar-kōṇ or Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyan occur side by side and actually this has led to various speculations regarding the role of the Gaṅgas in this conflict. It is fairly clear that the battle took place only after this marriage, and the event may not have been, in any way, associated with the Calukyan invasion.







## The East India Company's Reactions to the Charter Act of 1853

BY

PRASHANTO KUMAR CHATTERJI

The year 1853 represented a significant landmark in the East India Company's history. The Company saw their Charter renewed for the last time but on terms which amounted to little less than a revolution, judging from the British tradition of slow and gradual constitutional progress. While in 1813 and 1833 the Company had lost their trading monopoly in the Indies, they now were stripped of their 'Patronage'.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Court of Directors, representing the Company's executive, were reduced to a body of eighteen members, one-third of whom would be Government nominees. The constitution of the Court of Directors, hitherto a wholly elected body,<sup>2</sup> thus underwent the first important modification since the days of William Pitt.<sup>3</sup>

It fell to the newly established Peelite-Whig Aberdeen<sup>4</sup> ministry to handle the issue of renewing the Company's Charter. On the pretext of delay in submitting reports by Select Parliamentary Inquiry Committees,<sup>5</sup> however, the Tory opposition group under Derby<sup>6</sup> and Disraeli<sup>7</sup> wanted to defer legislation;<sup>8</sup> while the

1. Refers to the Directors' power to nominate writers, cadets, and assistant surgeons in the Company's Indian services.

2. The Court of Proprietors used to elect 24 Directors from among holders of £ 1000 India stock.

3. Prime Minister of Britain, 1783-1801, 1804-6.

4. Led the Peelites after Peel's death; formed coalition ministry of Whigs and Peelites, 1852.

5. These were appointed to enquire into the operation of the 1833 Charter Act by the Lords and Commons Resolutions of April and May 1852.

6. Headed a Protectionist ministry, Feb. 1852; Premier of Britain, 1858-9.

7. Chancellor of Exchequer, 1852, 1858-9.

8. Hogg to Dalhousie 8 and 24 March, 8 April 1853—*Dalhousie Papers* (cited forward as DP) No. 66; Wood to Dalhousie 24 March 1853—*Wood Papers* (cited as WP); *Letter-Book* (cited henceforward LB) III. Ellenborough's motion for delay, introduced in the Lords 25 Feb. 1853, was rejected by Aberdeen. (*Hansard*, Vol. CXXIV, p. 631 ff).



Radicals under Bright<sup>9</sup> and Cobden<sup>10</sup>—closely associated with Manchester manufacturing and commercial interests—contended for a two years' provisional Bill.<sup>11</sup> However, on the nature of changes to be introduced, the Opposition showed no unanimity. While the Radicals wished to overthrow the Directors and govern India by a Secretary of State and Crown-appointed Council,<sup>12</sup> the Tories vaguely desired reform unless it were Lord of Ellenborough<sup>13</sup> bluntly advocating an end to Company rule. The Cabinet were unconvinced by the Tory-Radical arguments for delay or a mere Continuance Bill. Charles Wood<sup>14</sup> was anxious to legislate 'this session'; otherwise, the Company's government might be abolished altogether. But he would improve the existing system by adding selected Indian officials to the Court's membership.<sup>15</sup> How the Company reacted to this initial and also later stages of the passage of the Charter Act, forms the subject-matter of this article.

The Company's views on the timing of the intended legislation resembled the Government's. Russell Ellice<sup>16</sup> thought there might be 'serious danger' from postponing the settlement of India's future government, which should be done 'this session'.<sup>17</sup> To James Hogg,<sup>18</sup> nothing could be more injurious to public interests than a mere interim Bill, which would create an impression of some great change to come. This would paralyse the Government in India and

9. Famous Orator and Statesman; MP 1843, 1847, 1852, 1857, 1858, 1865, 1868, 1873, 1874, 1880-5.

10. A foremost leader of Anti-Corn Law League 1838-46; MP 1841-57, 1859-64.

11. Hogg to Dalhousie 8, 24 Mar. 1853-DP 66; Bright's speech in Commons II Mar. 1853 (*Hansard*, Vol. CXXV).

12. Scheme for Govt. of India after 30 April 1854, WP II; Petition, signed by Mayor of Manchester, presented to the Lords 13 May 1853 (*Hansard*, CXXVII, p. 298 ff).

13. Gov.-Gen. of India 1842-4; President, India Board 1828-30, 1834-5, 1841, 1858.

14. Whig MP 1832-65; President, India Board 1852-5; Sec. of State for India 1859-66.

15. Wood to Dalhousie 24 May, Nov. 1853, to Sykes 18 June 1853; WP, LB III.

16. Chairman of East India Company 1853; Director for 24 years.

17. Russell Ellice to Wood 30, 31 May 1853; *Hickleton Papers* (briefly HP) No. 105.

18. Chairman of E.I. Company 1846, 1852; Director for 17 years; MP. 1835-57.



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produce 'fearful' agitation there and in England.<sup>19</sup> Secondly, it appears that a few Company men, advocated reform in the mode of electing the Directors by the Court of Proprietors who seemed to be hardly interested in governing India well. Henry Prinsep,<sup>20</sup> in his *The India Question* in 1853,<sup>21</sup> rejected the idea of governing India by the Crown Minister and Council, as the latter would be subservient to the Government. But he insisted on selecting the Directors partly by co-option, and partly by Crown-nomination from officials with Indian experience. William Sykes,<sup>22</sup> in his 'Plan for electing East-India Directors', envisaged a simplified system of election by the Court of Proprietors, at the initiative of the Bye-Laws Committee, which would secure the ablest men.<sup>23</sup> John Briggs<sup>24</sup> contemplated choosing the Directors by a mixed process, involving the Proprietors and Government, from persons with fifteen years' Indian residence to their credit. Further, he wished to leave half of the Indian appointments to officers' sons; the rest being nominated by the Directors, subject to examination.<sup>25</sup>

Anyway, after the evidence before the Parliamentary Inquiry Committees had enjoined nominating part of the Court of Directors from ex-Indian officials and throwing open civil and military appointments in India to public competition,<sup>26</sup> Wood was ready with his first draft of India Bill by 24 March 1853. Renewing the Charter for the usual twenty years, it retained twenty-four Directors, two-thirds of whom would be chosen by the East-India Proprietors and one-third by the Court of Directors with Royal approbation from officials of ten years' Indian experience. The Directors' usual tenure would be five years, with eligibility for a further five. Regarding Indian civil appointments, half the number would be opened to public competition, the rest being appoint-

19. James Hogg to Dalhousie 24 Feb. 1853, DP 66.

20. ICS; Director of E.I. Company 1850-1, 1853-8.

21. See Chapter XI for Home Government; XII & XIII for Government of India.

22. Chairman of E.I. Company 1856; Director for 16 years; MP. 1857-72.

23. Sykes to Dalhousie 25 July 1853, DP 133.

24. Member of Court of Proprietors of E.I. Company.

25. John Briggs to Lord Aberdeen 26 April 1853; also Briggs' notes on India Bill; WP 51.

26. For details, see *Parliamentary Papers* (briefly PP), Vols. XXVII-XXIX, XXXI-XXXIII of 1852-3.



ed by the Directors as before. "Military appointments as at present but examination for direct cadetships to be sanctioned by the India Board".<sup>27</sup> Chairman Hogg received no official intimation of the draft Bill and was only privately informed of its several provisions. But he was happy, since the necessity for changing the mode of selecting the Directors was 'universally' admitted.<sup>28</sup>

By 8th April, a revised outline draft was prepared.<sup>29</sup> While incorporating the essentials of the first draft, it was more radical in three respects. First, the Company's Charter would be renewed until Parliament provided otherwise. Secondly, the Directors would be reduced numerically to eighteen, two-thirds elected by the existing method, one-third nominated by the Crown. Moreover, all Indian civil and military appointments would be opened to competition.<sup>30</sup> This shift towards far-reaching reform resulted from the combined pressure exerted by discontented Whigs, Radicals and the Protectionists; and the Cabinet thought something more must be done.<sup>31</sup>

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors received no official intimation, although they had already (30 March) expressed their anxiety to know the proposed constitutional modifications, and had professed concurrence in any changes 'invigorating' the existing system<sup>32</sup>. Wood promised information on the intended changes as soon as it was consistent with his public duty to give it<sup>33</sup>. Confidentially, however, the scheme was mentioned to Hogg. He considered as 'harmless' the numerical reduction and part-nomination of the Directors, because the Court's existing constitution was its 'weakest point'. The only use in numbers was to secure the Court's independence and prevent it becoming a mere 'Government Board'—any number beyond what was requisite for this purpose might fairly be objected to. Besides, the existing elective system had 'justly'

27. WP II; also Hogg to Dalhousie 24 Mar. 1853, DP 66; Wood to Dalhousie 8 Mar. 1853, WP LB III.

28. Hogg to Dalhousie 24 Mar. 1853, DP 66.

29. Wood to Dalhousie 8 April 1853, WP LB III.

30. 'Memorandum—Indian Government', WP II.

31. Hogg to Dalhousie 8 April 1853, DP 66.

32. J. W. Hogg and R. Ellice to Charles Wood, 30 March 1853; *Secret Home Correspondence*, Vol. 6.

33. *Ibid.*



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lowered the Directors in public estimation. Lately, several candidates had promised appointments for electoral support<sup>34</sup>. Ellice, too, privately, had not a word to say against the proposed changes, which would not render the Court less efficient or independent<sup>35</sup>. Hogg was, however, 'decidedly' opposed to the 'impracticable, absurd and wild' scheme of open competition. In confidential communications with Wood, he had suggested distribution of patronage to the principal Colleges and Schools, and argued that the Indian Civil Service required 'discreet, steady' men, not men of brilliant talents. A service, comprising 'very clever' fellows, would be fatal to good government. Besides, if patronage were withdrawn, the Company's character and importance as a governing body could scarcely be maintained. Their prestige would be gone, and the feeling of attachment to and dependence on the Company which had hitherto characterized the services, and tended to work the machine, would be changed into a feeling of disregard and contempt for the Directors. These representations having failed, Hogg regretted that when such 'mighty' interests were at stake, schemes were being framed not with regard to the public interest but to meet the prevailing cry of the day<sup>36</sup>. Wood thought all he did was essential. The present House of Commons was 'very uncertain' and the less opportunity they were afforded for doing mischief the better<sup>37</sup>.

Officially, only two days before introducing the Bill in Parliament, Wood communicated to the Court's Chairmen the memorandum on heads of arrangement for the Indian government, which was substantially similar to the revised draft. He said the Court's altered constitution would enhance its efficiency, while preserving unimpaired its freedom from undue political influence. Abolition of patronage would raise further the character of the civil, scientific and military services. The Charter was not being renewed for any fixed period, as it should be open to Parliamentary revision at any time<sup>38</sup>.

34. Hogg to Dalhousie 8 April 1853, DP 66.

35. Ellice to Dalhousie 24 April 1853, *ibid.*

36. Hogg to Dalhousie 8 April 1853, *ibid.*

37. Wood to Dalhousie 8 June 1853, WP LB III.

38. Wood to Ellice and Major James Oliphant 1 June 1853, *Secret Home Correspondence* Vol. 6.



The Chairmen were satisfied that it was proposed to continue the Company, which being exclusively devoted to its duties was essential to India's good government. However, having regard to the material and intellectual improvement of Indians since 1834, they denied the necessity or expediency of numerical reduction and partial nomination of the Court, especially when no grounds were furnished for them. Political bias might influence Crown-nominations, and partial introduction of nominated elements sow discord, without enhancing the Court's efficiency. The services of distinguished ex-Indian officials were secured already under the elective system. The present number was far better to continue; otherwise, the Court's independence, the necessary requisite for its efficiency, might cease. Finally, they expressed little confidence in open competition ensuring a higher moral and intellectual calibre of the Haileybury and Addiscombe recruits.<sup>39</sup>

That Wood took no notice of the Company's arguments is evident from the 'Bill for the Government of India'<sup>40</sup> which he asked leave to introduce in the Commons on 3 June, and which was a mere amplification of the revised draft. The 'Court of Directors would be reduced to eighteen, twelve elected by the Proprietors, and six named by the Crown from officials of ten years' Indian experience. Of the elected Directors, six should have ten years' Indian official experience. Having regard to Briggs' notes, the Directors' tenure was raised to six years, with eligibility for immediate re-election or re-appointment<sup>41</sup>. Admissions to Haileybury and Addiscombe or as Assistant Surgeons in the Company's forces were opened to competitive examinations under Regulations to be framed by the India Board<sup>42</sup>. Despite Hogg's defence of the Company's patronage in the Commons, the Bill was read first time<sup>43</sup>.

39. Ellice and Oliphant to Wood 2 June 1853. *ibid.*

40. Prepared and brought in by Sir Charles Wood. Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham, 9 June 1853—see *PP Public Bills 1852-3 Vol. III & WP 50*.

41. Clauses I. II. III V. VII. IX.

42. Clauses XXXII. XXXIV XXXV, ff. Only direct army appointments to Cadetships were left to the Directors.

43. See *Hansard Vol. CXXVII*.



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Meanwhile, the Court of Proprietors had debated Wood's bill. While Ellice and Hogg wanted immediate legislation maintaining the existing system, with small modifications to invigorate it, Sykes and Charles Mills<sup>44</sup> praised the present ICS, which laid more stress on professional than bookish knowledge and had produced numerous distinguished men. To Mackenzie<sup>45</sup>, the Bill aimed at weakening the Court which strengthened the minister against party influences. He would retain the existing Court and enlarge it. Mackenzie's eloquence produced the Proprietors' Resolution (adopted on 21 June) re-affirming the Chairmen's earlier stand and criticising the proposed changes, especially partial nomination of the Directors, which would impair their independence and weaken the principal check on the India Board's power<sup>46</sup>. Wood paid no heed to the Proprietors' Resolution and his Bill passed its Second Reading.

Despite this, the Company set their face against the impending wind of change. Writing to Wood in July, the Chairmen persisted that the proposed legislation was inconsistent with the Reports of the Lords' and Commons' Committees, which favoured the Company's government. A partially nominated Court would produce conflicting views. Crown-nomination, coupled with nominated Directors' right to sit in Parliament, would introduce intimacy between nominees and the ministry and impair the Court's independence. Nomination might better be made by the Directors themselves, subject to the India Board's approbation. Also, well-qualified persons could be elected if the choice of candidates was limited to those previously approved by the Directors and the India Board. The Court's existing numbers were necessary to maintain its independence; and in view of the magnitude, vast population and diverse conditions of India. Competitive recruitment tested merely book knowledge and was difficult to operate so as to insure success to the best qualified. It might also diminish the subordination of the Company's officials.

44. Member, Court of Directors, 1822-4, 1826-9, 1831-4, 1836-9, 1841-4, 1846-9, 1851-8.

45. Holt Mackenzie: best remembered for his work as Settlement Officer; Commissioner India Board, 1832-4.

46. Ellice and Oliphant, the Chairmen of the Directors, transmitted the Resolution to Wood 22 June 1853 (*Secret Home Correspondence*, Vol. 6). See also *General Court Minutes*, Vol. 18 and *East India Debates*.



But if it were adopted, it should be introduced gradually and regulations framed by the Directors, subject to the India Board's approval<sup>47</sup>.

Wood replied that with their commercial character terminated in 1833, the Company had only the dividends of their stock secured on the Indian revenues and could be continued in Indian administration for good government alone. It was the favourable tenor of Parliamentary evidence which secured the Company's continuance as an integral part of the Indian government, despite clamours for its abolition. But this did not prevent reforms which would improve the system, preserving its essentials. Numerical reduction of an executive council like the Court would not affect its independence. Introduction of nominees would secure the services of ex-Indian officials who were otherwise excluded by a long and expensive electioneering process. If they were selected by the Court, they would feel dependent on the Directors and dominant party in the Court and perpetuate their power by introducing partisans. Nor was the Government's nomination objectionable. It was limited to officials of ten years' Indian experience, who were very much removed from British politics. With an increased responsibility to Parliament, the Ministers could not but select the ablest. High feelings of duty and daily intercourse with elected colleagues would prevent nominee-members from depending on the Government or forming a close coterie. Finally, competitive recruitment would ensure extra-academic qualifications on the part of the Indian civil and military servants<sup>48</sup>.

With Wood's contradiction of the Company's viewpoint, the Commons proceeded to Committee<sup>49</sup>. Ellice still hoped the Cabinet would give way on Crown-nomination of 'so many' Directors but feared that on numbers they would be unrelenting.<sup>50</sup> While Ross Mangles<sup>51</sup> in vain supported an amendment retaining the

47. R. Ellice and J. Oliphant to C. Wood 1 July 1853, *Secret Home Correspondence* Vol. 6.

48. Wood to Ellice and Oliphant 5 July 1853, *Secret Home Correspondence* Vol. 7.

49. The deliberations lasted 8-28 July; *Hansard*, Vols. CXXVIII-CXXIX.

50. R. Ellice to Dalhousie 7 July 1853, DP 66.

51. ICS; MP 1841-58; Director, E.I. Company, 1847-50, 1852-8; Chamberlain, 1857.



Court's existing numbers<sup>52</sup>, Hogg failed to prevent a clause illegalising the Company's salt-manufacturing monopoly from May 1856<sup>53</sup>. Wood's Bill had thus passed the Commons (29 July) practically unscathed except for the salt-clause, and this had ironically enough gone further against the Company's interests.

In these circumstances, the Chairmen 'decidedly' requested withdrawal of the salt-clause, which would impair the responsibility of the Indian Government and embarrass their financial system<sup>54</sup>. Regarding the Bill generally, the Court of Directors adopted a Minute (29 July) which, while 'regretting' the rejection of their view-point, considered it 'inexpedient' to offer further opposition and agreed to defer to Parliamentary decisions. Ellice persuaded the Proprietors to accept this Minute.<sup>55</sup> Such defeatism did not, however, find favour with Mackenzie, who moved an amendment, advocating the postponement of legislation till after mature consideration, and requesting the Directors to petition Parliament. The Court should not be numerically reduced arbitrarily. Crown-nomination was rendered peculiarly objectionable by the Directors' short tenure and re-eligibility on expiry of their term. After a long debate the Amendment was withdrawn and a petition to the Lords approved with one dissentient voice. (3 August). The Petition solemnly protested against a proceeding which could only be justified by proved delinquency. Partial nomination would enhance ministerial power over a Court already controlled by the India Board, and lead to a Colonial-type government, though without its securities, which must prove an irresponsible despotism. The Court was being reduced numerically in the absence of Parliamentary recommendation and despite the Company's protests, when it needed strengthening for greatly increased responsibilities. The Petition concluded, therefore, that clause reforming the Court's constitution should be amended to ensure its efficiency and independence<sup>56</sup>.

Paying no heed to the Proprietors' Petition, the Lords read

52. *House of Commons Proceedings*, 8 & 11 July 1853.

53. *Commons Proceedings*, 8 & 11 July 1853.

54. Ellice and Oliphant to Wood 4 August 1853 (*Letters from E.I. Company to Board of Control*, Vol. 21).

55. *Secret Home Correspondence* Vol. 7, *General Court Minutes* Vol. 18.

56. *East India House Debates*; *General Court Minutes*, *ibid*.



the Bill a second time. In Committee, Ellenborough carried an amendment, making the India Board's signature on despatches as valid as the Court's. His other amendment, rejecting the salt-clause, was lost, (8 August). Vainly did he argue that this interference with Indian finance would not benefit Indians but only a few British salt-manufacturers.

The Court felt 'very strongly' on the 'signature-clause', which was nothing short of an 'insult'. The Chairmen urged Wood to expunge such an 'obnoxious, objectionable, and unconstitutional' clause, if he meant to preserve popularity with the Court. Government rested with the Company and the signing of despatches was a Governmental act. The Board, with all their importance, had not the functions of Government<sup>57</sup>. Following the Chairmen's vehement opposition, the Lords omitted the signature-clause during the third reading (12 August). With the commons withdrawing the salt-clause (15 August) and the Royal Assent given to Wood's Bill (20 August), the Company won on two points but lost the main battle. Sykes was not reconciled to this 'very odd' Act, which he regarded as prompted by a Whig bid to retain power by satisfying the Tories and Radicals and preventing their having a common ground. He criticised the Court's reduction in the face of a four-fold increase in its business since 1833. Moreover, the nominee-system introduced 'conflicting' elements into a body which had hitherto derived power from a common source, and violated Whig representative principles. Sykes also assailed the abolition of Patronage, which would now be 'scrambled' for by the public<sup>58</sup>. Collectively, the Proprietors discussed a motion refusing assent to the Act, as being adverse to Indian interests<sup>59</sup>. But the time had passed when pamphlets from the India House ensured the triumph of its cause. The Directors' fate was no longer in their hands. The 'Mutiny' served only to discredit further an already unpopular organisation and whatever remained of the Company's structure and powers after 1853 was swept away in 1858.

57. Ellice to Wood 10 August 1853, HP 105; Ellice and Oliphant to Wood 10 August 1853 (*Letters from E.I. Company to Board of Control*, Vol. 21).

58. Sykes to Dalhousie 25 July, 2 Nov. 1853; DP 133. For Ellice's reaction, see R. Ellice to Wood 29 Aug. 1853 (HP 105), in which the former transmitted Dalhousie's criticism of the Charter Act.

59. *General Court Proceedings* on 12 Aug. 1853 (*General Court Minutes*, Vol. 18 and *East India House Debates*).



## Curzon's Educational Reform in India.

BY

V. C. BHUTANI

Indian leaders acquired in time an acquaintance with western principles of political economy and practical economics and were at last able to call in question the economic policies of the British government. This growth of enlightened inquisitiveness had been brought about by the effects of processes like development of the means of communication, the advance of social reforms, an awareness of past heritage, access to western thought and literature and the growth of the press.<sup>1</sup> Educated Indians could match the supposed intellectual superiority of the British rulers. Indian leaders and a few English sympathizers became so vocal and influential by their writings and speeches that towards the end of the nineteenth century the British government was alarmed by the power of the Indian press and sought to impose restrictions on it as Salisbury had done twenty years earlier. People in India, however, were by then disillusioned about the nature and motives of British rule. Indian nationalist leaders were loud in their denunciation of foreign domination. The government watched the rise of this nationalist feeling with suspicion and distrust and attempted at first to convince itself that opposition to British rule did not exist. The government would not recognize the movement of Indian nationalists who organized themselves in the National Congress and was anxious to take, and to appear to take, no notice of it. The government even deluded itself that the Congress was losing its importance on account of indifference shown towards it.<sup>2</sup> Curzon was himself its firm opponent and did not accept it as representative of the Indian mas-

1. H. L. Singh, *The Problems and Policies of the British in India 1885-1898* (Bombay, 1963), p. 260. Cf. S. Gopal, *British Policy in India 1858-1905* (London, 1965) pp. 201-2.

2. Hamilton to Elgin, 11 December 1896. *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. C-125/1, 75.



ses.<sup>3</sup> With an attitude of distinctive 'self-complacency he convinced himself that it was enough to consult and conciliate public opinion without according recognition to it or to the Congress, which in his view was fast dissolving for lack of people's participation.<sup>4</sup> He had no illusions, however, that although the government might take no cognizance of the Congress and treat it in public with obvious indifference, there was "slowly growing up a sort of a national feeling".<sup>5</sup> He tried during his tenure in India to take the wind out of the sails of the Congress by carrying out reforms which he thought would remove cause of complaint, but he would not hold "any communion with the unclean thing".<sup>6</sup> Indian public opinion had advanced considerably in recent years and it was not possible to disregard it in formulating administrative policies, although Curzon would not seek to placate it in any form.<sup>7</sup> He realized that with the passage of time India would demand more generous treatment. Public opinion was becoming both more vocal and more weighty and it was no longer possible that a cabinet sitting in London should prescribe policies to be carried out by its representatives in India.<sup>8</sup> Forces like education, free press, selection, albeit limited, by competitive examination for public service, the civil courts and the increasing power of the capitalist classes over agriculturists were undermining the old order of things which formed the basis of British rule and were leading to the formation of an anti-British radicalism which could only result in the overthrow of any foreign and autocratic administration.<sup>9</sup> To conciliate public opinion then

3. Curzon to Hamilton, 27 September 1899. *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/2, 40.

4. Curzon to Hamilton, 18 November 1900. *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/4, 52.

5. Curzon to Balfour, 31 March 1901. *Curzon Papers*. MSS. Eur. F. 111/181, 211.

6. Curzon to Ampthill, 15 June 1903. *Curzon Papers*, MSS. Eur. F. 111/207, 101. Cf. T. Raleigh, "Introduction", *Lord Curzon in India*, volume I (London, 1906), pp. xix-xx.

7. Curzon to A. Godley, 27 January 1904. *Curzon Papers*. MSS. Eur. F. 111/163, 4.

8. Curzon to Hamilton, 17 September 1902. *Hamilton Papers*, Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/8, 40.

9. Hamilton to Curzon, 6 January 1903. *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. C-126/5, 1.



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was the only alternative open to government and in spite of his unconcealed abhorrence of Indian democratic instincts, Curzon deemed it proper to attempt to take the public into his confidence, at least as far as education was concerned.<sup>10</sup> But he only listened to Indians; he rarely acted according to their expectations.

## I

Curzon's earliest opinions about Indian education were that the government had paid insufficient attention to its progress and that funds for its support had not been provided. He felt that the government had decentralized authority to a dangerous degree and the provincial governments had likewise left power in the hands of committees or bodies which for the most part were outside the control of government.<sup>11</sup> Primary education was by far the most important aspect which government wished to support and make the basis of the Indian educational system.<sup>12</sup> Its progress, however, was such that it could not be said to have been remotely approached the modest goal that the government had set for itself. The proportion of children of school-going age was computed to be about 15 per cent of the population. Of this proportion only 17.7 per cent were in schools. Reasons for this lack of progress were different in the different provinces but primary education appeared to have languished almost everywhere. Secondary education suffered from a confusion of types of institutions, namely, vernacular middle schools, vernacular high schools and English high schools. Vernacular secondary education was conducted "on the cheap" while English secondary education was about adequate in the three presidencies and the Punjab and generally unsatisfactory elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> The Education Commission of 1882-83 had said that the education of boys through

10. Curzon to Hamilton, 28 August 1901. *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/6, 39.

11. (a) Curzon to A. Godley, 18 October 1890, *Curzon Papers*. MSS. Eur. F. 111/158, 48. (b) Note by Curzon, 20 October 1899. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, February 1900, 28-36.

12. Note by Curzon, 23 October 1899. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, November 1899, 25-27.

13. Note by H. Luson, deputy secretary, home department, 21 July 1899. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, November 1899, 25-27.



the medium of English instead of vernaculars put them at a comparative disadvantage and had recommended that the vernaculars should replace English as the medium of instruction in schools.<sup>14</sup> But the people had a decided preference for English education. At the same time public funds were being utilized too much in support of English education to the detriment of vernacular education in secondary schools, the respective cost to public exchequer per student per year being Rs. 24 and Rs. 6.8.<sup>15</sup>

The government had withdrawn from the support of higher education according to the policy recommended by the Education Commission of 1882-83.<sup>16</sup> Private effort, however, was quite enterprising and only one fourth of the colleges with 27.5 per cent of the students were under public management. Expenditure was met to the extent of 42.22 per cent from provincial revenues, 34.14 per cent from fees and 23.64 per cent from other private sources.<sup>17</sup> Private expenditure on higher education was thus considerably more than the outlay from public funds, showing that the people were appreciative of its advantages and were willing to pay for it although it may have been because the government would do so little for the expansion of higher education. Curzon believed that higher education had slipped from the control of government as a result of lack of attention and courage and, "wielded by ill-educated vakils", it had become a strong lever for the spread of political mischief.<sup>18</sup>

Early in his tenure of office Curzon had begun to think that the policy of government towards education was not satisfactory and stood in need of thorough diagnosis and reform. The diagnosis was carried out by the Educational Conference at Simla in September 1901. The burden of Curzon's argument was that the

14. *Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882-83* (Calcutta, 1883), para 250.

15. Note by Lusson, 21 July 1899, *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November 1899*, 25-27.

16. *Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882-83* (Calcutta, 1883), para 535.

17. Note by Lusson, 21 July 1899, *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November 1899*, 25-27.

18. Curzon to Godley, 31 January 1901. *Curzon Papers*. MSS. Eur. F. 111/160, 8.



policy of government had been so relaxed that it had ceased to conform to any conceivable system or principles.<sup>19</sup> The deliberations of the conference had only proceeded half way when he felt convinced that there was "a total lack of system, an ignorance of principles and a want of uniformity in practice, that have reduced education in India to a state almost of chaos".<sup>20</sup> The policy recommended by the conference was in reality an affirmation of the views that Curzon had formed and embodied more his personal judgment based on sound commonsense and a study of Indian educational needs than an expression of the views of the educationists assembled at Simla. The proceedings of the conference were dominated by Curzon whose personal presence imparted to it an aura of dignity. His subsequent claims that the educational experts had formulated the policy would require a modification that the experts were persuaded to accept Curzon's resolutions.

The conference felt that on account of more ostentatious results obtained from the application of funds to higher education, primary education had been denied its share of patronage: once again its claims to provincial revenues were urged. The principal measures to improve and expand primary education were more schools, better buildings and equipment, higher pay for teachers and increased and improved facilities for their training. Grants-in-aid to primary schools had till then been given on a system of payment by results. This had been shown to be fraught with baneful effects inasmuch as it encouraged forced filling of schools with unwilling pupils and their undeserved promotion from one class to the next. It was recommended that the system should be progressively abolished and replaced by arrangements based on local circumstances. The adoption of kindergarten methods adapted to Indian ideas and conditions was expected to result in an improvement of the content of the primary courses and to discourage mere development of memory by fostering a capacity for reasoning from observation. Rural primary schools were also

19. Curzon's inaugural speech, Educational Conference, Simla, 2 September 1901. *Speeches by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor-General of India*, volume ii (Calcutta, 1902), pp. 309-338.

20. Curzon to Hamilton, 11 September 1901, *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/6, 41.



approved and were later established in Bombay, Punjab and the Central Provinces. Better text-books for use in these schools, the conference held, should be composed to promote the training of students in agricultural practices.

In respect of secondary education the conference observed that schools had been recognized on conditions that were too easy and inadequate while teaching was conditioned by the need to pass a series of examinations which discouraged sound teaching and turned out insufficiently taught students for higher education. Hence the reform should proceed in the direction of more stringent conditions for recognition, better curricula of teaching, better teachers and intensified inspection to ensure confirmation to standards laid down by government. The conditions for recognition as prescribed were that there should be genuine need of a school, its financial stability should be assured and its managing body properly constituted, a proper standard of teaching should be attained and provision made for the exercise of due influence and control on the health and discipline of students and the character and qualifications of teachers. Considerable emphasis was laid on the need to pay more attention to the moral and physical education of the students and on their residence in hostels as far as possible. Also fees should not be so low as to hurt other institutions in the neighbourhood. At the same time the conference felt that schools were imparting an instruction that was too literary. In their view it was necessary that the teaching should be such as to provide openings for students in vocations other than clerical. Hence it recommended that after the end of the middle course students should be branched into courses that would fit them for commercial and industrial pursuits. Special commercial education was favoured. And in order to do away with the tyranny of examinations in schools it was recommended that there should be no examination before the completion of the school course which should be terminated by a school final examination.

It was not enough, however, to give a school education to students who might aspire to technical professions. It was recommended that having passed through a course of general instruction in ordinary schools students should be drafted on to technical institutions for the theoretical study and practical application of the



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scientific methods and principles of any craft, industry or profession. The object was not to foster industry in schools but to prepare students for an informed start in industry. The encouragement of particular local arts or industries should be effected by means of instruction in industrial schools. These too should be educational institutions dealing with the development of indigenous products in rural areas and manufactures in urban areas.<sup>21</sup>

Much depended on the type of teachers available for schools. It was recommended, therefore, that the number of training schools for primary teachers and training colleges for secondary teachers should be increased and their quality improved. In implementing this scheme it was decided that the training schools should organize two years' course for primary teachers and the training colleges should provide a one year course for graduates and a two years' course for undergraduates.<sup>22</sup>

The conference terminated without recording any opinion on the question of curriculum and text-books but the heads of the educational departments of the three presidencies and the three major provinces met informally and resolved that courses of study should be framed on the pattern followed in Bengal where effort was directed towards the simultaneous development and training of the child's senses and powers of observation. The text-books should be prepared for the various stages of school education rising in volume and intricacy with the advancing stages.<sup>23</sup> The question, however, had attracted notice much earlier when the

21. (a) Proceedings and resolutions of the Educational Conference, Simla, September 1901; (b) Government of India to local governments and administrations, 6 and 20 November 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November 1901, 47-61.*

22. (a) Proceedings and resolutions of the Educational Conference, Simla, September 1901; (b) Government of India to local governments and administrations, 20 November 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November 1901, 47-61.*

23. (a) Conclusions of the directors of public instruction of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and Oudh and Punjab and the inspector general of education of the Central Provinces, "Informal Meeting", Simla, 19 September 1901; (b) government of India to local government and administrations, 27 November 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November 1901, 47-61.*



secretary of state observed that the text-books in use were not "wholesome and adapted to the crude understanding of Oriental students".<sup>24</sup> An inquiry into the preparation and selection of text-books had been started but a fresh review was considered feasible from the political point of view.<sup>25</sup> Text-books in schools were selected by text-book committees in every province but the powers of the committees varied and the system had worked with different results and effectiveness in the different provinces. The provincial systems disregarded the principles laid down in 1833 and had allowed them so far to fall into desuetude that the system had "ceased to conform to the directions of the Government of India" Curzon himself thought that the provinces were working in complacent evasion or contravention of principles more than once laid down and had abdicated their functions to bodies over which the educational departments or officers had little or no control.<sup>26</sup> It was decided, therefore, that the functions of the text-book committees should be purely advisory instead of mandatory and they should be presided over always by the directors of public instruction and their sub-committees by inspectors. All schools under public management or in receipt of aid should have to select from lists of books approved by the committees and unaided schools, less amenable to such official control, should be required similarly to select from wider lists also approved by the committees, but if unaided schools prescribed unauthorized books their students should be barred from sitting at any public examination for scholarships or employment.<sup>27</sup> The object obviously was that government should have an effective voice in the selection of text-books in schools.

24. Secretary of State to Government of India, 16 December 1897. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, February 1900, 25-36.

25. (a) Government of India to local governments and administrations, 30 June 1898 and replies from local governments and administrations. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, February 1900, 25-36. (b) Government of India to local governments and administrations, 23 March 1899 and replies from local governments and administrations. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, June 1901, 39-55.

26. Note by Curzon, 20 October 1899. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, February 1900, 25-36.

27. Resolution, 8 February 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, February 1900, 25-36.



Likewise the question of technical education had been examined earlier but action required consisted in an expansion of the existing arrangements which were considered to be based on sound principles.<sup>28</sup> The expansion of industrial schools was desired and a committee was appointed to advise on the lines of expansion. The recommendations of this committee, however, were impractical and opposed to the policy adopted in 1901 and were turned down *en bloc*.<sup>29</sup> It was decided that for large centres of industrial enterprise, e.g., Bombay, Howrah, Kanpur, etc., where capital was invested on a large scale and scope existed for the employment of highly trained and skilled workmen, it was feasible to establish full time industrial schools for advanced training in individual crafts or trades, whereas for smaller industries which could be carried on with much less capital in private establishments the object was to maintain and develop a child's inherited skill and to give him a general education to enlarge his prospects.<sup>30</sup> Technical scholarships were instituted for more advanced technical training than whole-time schools and other institutions in India could provide. The scholarships would enable promising workmen to receive training in advanced western countries.<sup>31</sup> Curzon, however, only succeeded in providing a stimulus to the expansion of institutions of technical education by giving a push to existing arrangements by a pledge of financial assistance to selected institutions in Bombay, Bengal and the Central Provinces.<sup>32</sup> No positive steps could be taken but the theoretical foundations of a policy had been laid and a beginning made in the right direction. The progress of technical education occurred in later years. Curzon's work mainly consisted in providing a basis on which a structure could be built.

28. (a) E. C. Buck, *Report on Technical and Practical Education* (Calcutta, 1900). (b) Government of India to local governments and administration, 20 November 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November 1901*, 47-61.

29. J. E. Clibborn, *Report on Industrial Education* (Calcutta, 1903).

30. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 30 September 1903. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, 19 October 1903.

31. Resolution, 14 January 1904. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, January 1904*, 32-32A.

32. Government of India to governments of Bombay and Bengal and chief commissioner of Central Provinces, 26 October 1905. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November 1905*, 44-56.



In other respects the policy laid down at Simla was prescribed for the provinces and since the provision of funds only would work for the progress of education the government made a special grant for educational expenditure. The results of the additional outlay were that, apart from capital investment on buildings for schools and hostels and on equipment, more schools were established with more teachers in them, the training of teachers was improved and they were better paid, and higher grants were given to schools.<sup>33</sup> Most of the expenditure was devoted to the advancement of primary education. Subsequently when the educational policy of government was formally laid down in 1904 it became obvious that a further considerable grant of funds for educational expenditure would have to be made.<sup>34</sup> The experience in the wake of the recommendations of the Education Commission of 1882-83 had shown that in spite of the adoption of sound principles the progress of education had been inadequate and unsatisfactory chiefly because the government had not provided money "to speed reform on its way" while the educational grant of 1902 made shortly after the Educational Conference had given "an enormous impetus to education".<sup>35</sup> It was realized that educational advance in India would "depend much less upon Government Resolutions or even legislations, than upon actual expenditure" and that the policy lately pursued foreshadowed increased public expenditure on education for a considerable time to come.<sup>36</sup> Notwithstanding repeated official pronouncements on the importance of primary education the result had only been a dismal record of failures to carry out that policy. It was not enough to lay down a policy without providing funds for its implementation.<sup>37</sup> In his last year Curzon went so far as to add a recurring grant only for primary

33. Local governments and administrations to Government of India, Home Department, Education B Proceedings, October 1905, 65-72.

34. Resolution, 11 March 1904. Home Department, Education A Proceedings, May 1904, 67-76.

35. H. W. Orange, director general of education, to J. O. Miller, private secretary to viceroy, 20 March 1904. Curzon Papers. MSS. Eur. F. 111/209, 103. See footnote 73, *infra*.

36. Miller to D. Ibbetson, home member, 25 March 1904. Curzon Papers. MSS. Eur. F. 111/209, 81.

37. Curzon to Broadbent, 12 January 1905. Curzon Papers. MSS. Eur. F. 111/164, 8.



education to an equal importance and a claim to patronage from public funds.<sup>38</sup> The result of this emphasis was a revival of the government's interest in secondary education after Curzon's departure.<sup>39</sup>

## II

The education of the children of European parentage or mixed European and Indian parentage also received considerable attention although this subject was no part of the Indian educational system. It should be studied, however, because this parentetic system gradually took roots in India and has in time come to be recognized in the form of public school education at present as having distinct merit for Indian students also. For European children it was a drawback to receive an Indian education because in India they would be regarded as taught on unsatisfactory lines, while in England the value of their education would be suspect because Indian examinations were not recognized.<sup>40</sup> Neither was it possible to instruct European children according to the English public school system because competent examiners were not available or willing to apply the tests of Indian examinations to students who had been taught on a system for which English examinations alone were suitable and of value afterwards. In order, thus, that European children might be assured better employment prospects in India and on return to England, it was suggested that the Cambridge examinations should be introduced in India and offi-

38. Note by Curzon, 16 October 1905. *Finance Department. Accounts and Finance A Proceedings*, March 1906, 105-108.

39. Note by Orange, 1 June 1906. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, 31 October 1906. No conspicuous financial results ensued as far as secondary education was concerned though, Curzon, however, had made the following recurring grants for education during his tenure:

1902 Rs 40 lakhs for implementation of the recommendations of the Educational Conference.

1904-05 Rs. 5 lakhs for higher education.

1904-05 Rs. 2½ lakhs for technical education and

1904-05 Rs. 35 lakhs for primary education.

All these grants were in addition to funds assigned to the provincial governments under five yearly financial settlements. Vide S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *A History of Education in India* (Bombay, 1951), p. 437.

40. Note by Luson 12 March 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, July 1900, 31-36.



cially recognized as equivalent to corresponding Indian university or departmental examinations.<sup>41</sup>

A deputation of the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association waited upon the Governor General on 23 March 1900 to bring the matter to the notice of government. Curzon was aware that a charge of partiality would be plausibly made if the government gave more patronage to the education of European children but he was prepared to pay more attention to the subject than had been done in the past.<sup>42</sup> The Association later formed a committee to represent to the government formally. The committee was representative of the various sections of the European community and was presided over by the Bishop of Calcutta who later drew up a memorandum on the subject.<sup>43</sup> This powerful intercession by the Bishop led the government to consider the suitability of Cambridge examinations as tests for public employment in India.<sup>44</sup> The matter, however, waited until the educationists assembled at Simla in 1901 for the Educational Conference after which the representatives of the six major provinces met informally to consider the question of European education.<sup>45</sup> Their deliberations issued in the formulation of opinions and recommendations. It was suggested that a uniform code should apply to European schools in all provinces after necessary revision, that separate colleges for Europeans were not neces-

41. Speech by Arden Wood, principal, La Martiniere, Calcutta at the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association, Calcutta, 12 February 1900. *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 13 February 1900.

42. Curzon's reply to the address from the deputation of the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association, Calcutta, 23 March 1900. *Speeches by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy and Governor-General of India*, volume i (Calcutta, 1900), pp. 286-299.

43. Memorandum by the Bishop of Calcutta, 30 May 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, July 1900, 31-36.

44. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 6 October 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, July 1900, 31-36.

45. The "Informal Conference" on 18 and 19 September 1901 was attended by the directors of public instruction of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and the Punjab and the inspector general of education of the Central Provinces and was presided over by the secretary in the home department. *Proceedings of the "Informal Conference"*. *Home Department, Educational A Proceedings*, November 1901, 47-61



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sary, that European students should be given higher scholarships than were given in the case of Indians and more scholarships should be instituted, that the government should step in where private effort was lacking, that European education should be placed under a separate inspector in each province, that arrangements for the training of teachers for European schools should be made at a central training college, and that Cambridge examinations should be introduced in India and recognized as qualifying for admission to the public service.<sup>46</sup>

On the basis of the views of the provincial governments and the proceedings of the "Informal Conference" at Simla the government formulated an attitude towards European education. It was decided that the "Bengal Code" which embodied the rules applying to European schools should be revised and made uniformly applicable. The European community had generally charged that the government overlooked the interests of European students on account of the louder claims of Indian education. In reality the cost of instruction of every European and Eurasian student and the contribution of the state towards it was higher than in the case of an Indian student. The difficulty was in respect of the higher education of European students. This would be met by higher and more scholarships. There would also be a general allocation of scholarships for European students "in all stages of education". It was decided that the state should come forward where there was a concentration of European population of the poorer classes. Inspection agency for these schools should be separately but economically organised. The government had conceded, however, that the European children were entitled to higher patronage, with the result that they were the objects of special solicitude in every respect. A central training college would be established at Allahabad for the training of 25 male teachers annually; no such arrangement was made for women teachers because they were on the whole available. The teachers would be assured fixity of tenure and higher remuneration in

46. A. Pedler, director of public instruction, Bengal, on behalf of the "Informal Conference" to government of India, 23 September 1901. Home Department, *Education A Proceedings*, November 1901, 47-01.



private or denominational schools by grant-in-aid to school upto half the salary generally and upto two thirds in poor areas. The students in European schools should also learn vernaculars because knowledge of vernaculars was essential for public or private employment of Europeans in India. Finally, it was laid down that the Cambridge senior local examination should be introduced as the school final examination for European schools because such transplanting of an examination already recognized in England was far simpler than the possible recognition of a multiplicity of Indian examinations by public and private agencies in England. Likewise the London chamber of commerce senior commercial examination was also commended for similar reasons as a test for commercial employment in England. And instead of prescribing another qualifying test for the public service in India the existing school final examination of European schools and the proposed Cambridge senior local examination and the London chamber of commerce senior commercial examination were recognized as so qualifying.<sup>47</sup> Subsequently a committee to revise the "Bengal Code" was appointed by nominating the representatives of the six major provinces.<sup>48</sup>

The provincial opinions in response to the latest reference from the government of India and the report of the committee on the "Bengal Code" formed the basis of further conclusions then reached.<sup>49</sup> The earlier views were substantially reaffirmed. The principal alterations were that instead of establishing more schools the students would be sent into hostels and the government would contribute towards their expenditure, the grants-in-aid would be calculated on the basis of actual difference between expenditure and receipts, and salary grants would be admissible for register-

47. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 27 November 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, November 1901, 47-61.

48. Resolution, 1 March 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, April 1902, 54-65.

49. (a) Local governments and administrations to Government of India. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, October 1902, 52-61. (b) *Report of the Committee to revise Code of Regulations for European Schools in Bengal to prepare a Uniform Code for India and Bengal* (Calcutta, 1903).



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ed teachers only, for which purpose provincial registers of trained teachers would be maintained.<sup>50</sup>

In the meanwhile some of the European schools in the hills had been applying for government aid in the form of loans and grants. On one such application the finance member raised an objection in principle to any help being given to denominational institutions as had been done in the past.<sup>51</sup> This led to the appointment of an "informal committee" to examine the financial condition of European schools, the causes which brought some of them into difficulties and the practical means by which such difficulties might be avoided in future.<sup>52</sup> The director general of education obtained the views of his colleagues on this committee on some of the more important matters like the code and salary grants.<sup>53</sup> Subsequently the committee also submitted its views on the matters referred to it.<sup>54</sup> The committee recommended a higher scale of salaries for teachers and the retention of the existing system of calculation of salary grants on the basis of attendance but at a higher rate. Grants to particular schools were given and the provincial governments were asked to enforce the revised code.<sup>55</sup>

As to hill schools the crux of the matter was that on account of incompetence and mismanagement there was a prospect of their collapse. Unless helped in time to stand on their own legs they would soon close down and drive the government to organize a system of state schools for European children because their

50 Government of India to local governments and administrations, 14 July 1903. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, July 1903, 76-78.

51. Note by E. FG. Law, finance member, 7 November 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, May 1903, 111-112.

52. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 23 September 1903. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, November 1903, 12-25.

53. Memorandum by Orange, 25 October 1904. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, September 1905, 58-72.

54. Report of the Committee upon the Financial Condition of Hill Schools for Europeans in Northern India (Calcutta, 1904), volumes i and ii.

55. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 14 August 1905. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, September 1905, 58-72.



parents could not afford to send them to England. Assisting moribund schools with liberal aid from public funds and thus making them efficient and effective instruments of the education of European children was more economical than a whole system of state schools established on their debris. Far from being an illustration of the undue liberality or partiality of government towards European schools it was a circumspective step which would save the government much expense.<sup>56</sup> It was expedient that the state should not compete with private effort.<sup>57</sup> Having arrived at a policy the government also turned its attention to the grant of substantial funds in aid of European education and made a recurring annual grant of Rs. 2.46 lakhs beginning with 1906-07.<sup>58</sup>

### III

The opinions on higher education and university work that Curzon saw early during his tenure led him to believe that the affiliation of colleges had been granted without taking care to see that the applying institutions had adequate arrangements for the physical, moral and intellectual development of students. Secondly, text-books were enumerated in long lists prescribed by universities and teachers had to rush through books in a superficial way, which encouraged cramming to the detriment of the discipline of the intellect. Thirdly, the university bodies were too full of men who had no inclination or competence to devote themselves to university matters.<sup>59</sup> Curzon laid strong emphasis on the moral and physical development of students in schools and colleges. With his large experience of educational and university matters it was easy for him to perceive that in India influences

56. Note by A. T. Arundel, home member, 6 July 1905, and by Curzon, 19 July 1905. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, August 1905*, 67-68.

57. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 14 August 1905. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, August 1905*, 67-68.

58. Government of India to local governments and administrations, 26 May 1906. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, May 1906*, 143-144.

59. Note by A. H. L. Fraser, secretary, home department, 20 September 1899. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November 1899*, 25-27.



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and interests were at work which prevented the proper training and instruction of students for the full development of their moral potentiality. On account of the impact of political leadership higher education in India had indeed swerved from the pursuit of learning to cheap and shallow acquaintance with the economic and political thought of the west and its application to Indian questions although there were basic differences of context in western and Indian problems. The only adviser available to government had no hesitation in saying that university organization needed improvement. But he was anxious that nothing should be done that would place the universities under "permanent Government tutelage". He would reduce the strength and the powers of the senates and syndicates of the universities but he advised a more careful inquiry before action was taken.<sup>60</sup>

The senates of the universities were their governing bodies instituted by the Acts of Incorporation but their members, known as fellows, were not all educational experts and not specially competent to fulfil their academic obligations. In reality, however, the universities were being run by the syndicates, which were in effect executive committees of the senates, but they had no statutory foundation in the case of the presidency universities. They had come into existence almost by stealth and had usurped many of the most important functions of the senates. In some cases the senates could not even consider a question unless it had been first considered and recommended by the syndicates. The syndicates thus held power which did not belong to them. They were less unsatisfactory as to their composition because there were more educationists on them. Non-academic members, however, were often in a majority. The ailment had sprung from the unduly large membership of the parent bodies, the senates, to which fellows were nominated to confer a titular honour on persons who might never set foot in the senate chamber. Alternatively they were elected not because their attainments constituted them sound advisers but because they had canvassed while better men had not.

Affiliation of colleges was an easy process because it was granted on application stating that the applying institution would

60. Demi-official, T. Raleigh, law member to Fraser, 20 September 1899. Home Department, *Education A Proceedings*, November 1899, 25-27.



be fit by its staff, financial soundness and physical surroundings to exercise a healthy influence on the education, character and discipline of its students. No proper care was taken to verify by effective inspection that the applications were correctly made. And except in Madras there was no provision for disaffiliation of the colleges if they ceased to conform to conditions on which they had been affiliated, although the power of disaffiliation was only complimentary to and not inconsistent with the power of affiliation.

Finally, it was not altogether justified that the universities should only be examining bodies although they were so intended to be by their Acts of Incorporation. In India the internal pressure of those competent to advise and the views of acknowledged experts in England had inclined towards making the Indian universities teaching bodies as those at Lahore and Allahabad indeed were, in law if not in practice yet.<sup>61</sup>

Curzon was convinced that higher education had been allowed to slip too far out of the hands of government and that it was being controlled by people in whose hands it could only become "a potent political instrument".<sup>62</sup> The senates had overgrown under a system of nomination and election to a state where there was a potential risk of the extrusion of European standards and influence. The elective principle had so far had no other result than "a cleverly organized system of canvassing and a thoroughly undistinguished list of nominees". It was, in his view, necessary to reduce the senates to more manageable proportions and to maintain a proper balance of Europeans and Indians and officials and non-officials. Curzon was opposed to the election of more than a third of the total membership of the senates. The syndicates, each an *imperium in imperio*, should be accorded statutory sanction because the work of the universities could not be carried on without them. They should be even enlarged a little with a larger academic element in their composition. With these modifications he hoped to make the senates and syndicates more busi-

61. Note by J. P. Hewett, secretary, home department, 31 December 1899, and by Curzon, 30 January 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December 1901*, 122-129.

62. Curzon to Godley, 31 January 1901. *Curzon Papers*. MSS. Eur. F. 111/160, 8.



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ness like in running the universities.<sup>63</sup> The object ostensibly was to increase western rather than official control. But western control could be exercised by people educated in the west. At the opening of the twentieth century very few Indians had the opportunity or resources to equip themselves with a western education which might have induced the government to consider them safe and eligible for nomination to university bodies. In practice thus the preponderance of western influence in the universities amounted to an extension of official influence. This was justified by government with the argument that the prevalent system of higher education was based and run on western methods and conceptions and could only be worked by men trained in western traditions and habits of thought.<sup>64</sup> It was felt necessary to amend the prevalent system if Indian universities were to be prevented from turning into "nursaries of discontented characters and stunted brains."<sup>65</sup>

Under Curzon's domineering lead the Educational Conference lost no time in recommending a thorough constitutional reform of the universities. It favoured strengthening of the powers of government in respect of affiliation, recognition and text-books. The idea of a detailed inquiry preceding legislative action was also considered desirable.<sup>66</sup> Ere long Curzon was advised by Professor William Ramsay, who was "an ardent apostle of reform in converting the university of London into a great teaching university",<sup>67</sup> to introduce extensive centralization of Indian universities. Shortly afterwards the government constituted the Indian Universities Commission.<sup>68</sup>

63. (a) Note by Pedler, 2 May 1900; (b) Minute by Curzon, 23 February 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December 1901*, 122-123.

64. Note by Pedler, 2 May 1900. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December 1901*, 122-129.

65. Curzon to Hamilton, 28 August 1901. *Hamilton Papers*. Eur. MSS. Colls. D-510/6, 39.

66. Proceedings and resolutions of the Educational Conference, Simla, September 1901. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, November 1901*, 47-61.

67. (a) *Dictionary of National Biography 1912-1921* (Oxford, 1927), pp. 444-446. (b) William Ramsay to Curzon, 31 December 1901. *Curzon Papers*. MSS. Eur. F. 111/182, 51.

68. Resolution, 27 January 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, January 1902*, 133-162.



The commission speedily completed their work and when they reported less than six months later, their findings and recommendations bore a striking similarity to the resolutions adopted by the Educational Conference. Among the most contentious of their recommendations were those which would fix a minimum rate of fees and abolish second grade colleges. Stringent conditions for the affiliation of colleges were suggested, namely, that the desirability of the institution should be certified by the director of public instruction, that its financial stability should be assured, that its governing body should be properly constituted, that an adequate teaching staff should be provided, that suitable and healthy buildings should be available, that the principal and professors of the college should reside in close proximity to the college, as far as possible, that arrangements should exist for the supervised residence of students in hostels, that the subjects and courses of study should be satisfactory and that a minimum scale of fees should be laid down.<sup>69</sup>

The commission tried to formulate a policy in respect of languages. After matriculation an Indian vernacular should only be studied along with the corresponding classical language, because in the commission's view only the classical languages have a good literature which vernaculars had not. They found the teaching of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian faulty and sought to improve it by insisting on better qualified teachers. For M.A. a vernacular was only to be read as subsidiary to a classical language or English. In short the vernaculars could not be read for their own sake but as appendages to other languages. However, the commission opposed the teaching of modern European languages other than English.<sup>70</sup>

On the constitution of the universities the commission found, as the Educational Conference had done, that the senates were too large and likewise recommended that the standard of qualifications

69. (a) *Report of the Indian Universities Commission*, 1902 (Calcutta, 1902), paras 57(1), 61-63, 66, 69, 71-75 and 77. (b) *Resolutions of the Educational Conference*, Simla, September 1901, number 18, 23, 41-43 and 55-60.

70. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, November 1901, 47-61.

70. *Report of the Indian Universities Commission*, 1902 (Calcutta, 1902), paras 88-98.



for the fellows should be raised and regular attention to university matters insisted on.<sup>71</sup> These were the questions with regard to which provincial views were solicited. The remaining proposals of the commission were accepted by the government of India. The more important of these proposals were that the territorial limits of the universities should be re-defined, that no new universities were needed, that colleges should be provided with libraries and that the examination system should be reorganized and simplified.<sup>72</sup>

When the commission presented their report the government of India had no special adviser on educational matters with them. Raleigh and Hewett could not be expected to comment on the report because it was their own handiwork. The home member was no expert in educational matters and the director general of education was not yet conversant with the conditions and needs of education in India.<sup>73</sup> The burden of taking decisions fell on Curzon who offered observations on practically every suggestion made by the commission.<sup>74</sup> Curzon was thus personally responsible for the resolutions of the Educational Conference, for the minute which led to the appointment of the Universities Commission and was the chief inspiration of its report, and for the decisions taken

71. (a) *Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902* (Calcutta, 1902), paras 33-43. (b) Resolutions of the Educational Conference, Simla, September 1901, numbers 1-16. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, November 1901, 47-61.

72. (a) *Report of the Indian Universities Commission, 1902*, (Calcutta, 1902), paras 27 and 29-31. (b) Resolutions of the Educational Conference, Simla, September 1901, numbers 27-40. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, November 1901, 47-61. (c) Government of India to local governments and administrations, 24 October 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, December 1902, 67-78.

73. Among the first acts of government after the Educational Conference dispersed was to provide itself with an adviser on educational matters. It was a coincidence that Curzon and Raleigh had themselves long experience and interest in university education. But education had so far been looked after by home members who were often not educational experts. The first educational adviser to government of India, H. W. Orange, was appointed on 6 March 1902 and was designated the director general of education. Secretary of State to government of India. 14 March 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, April 1902, 95-97.

74. Note by Curzon, 20 July 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, December 1902, 67-78.



in respect of higher education and the degree of government control over the universities. Curzon also realized, however, that inasmuch as the commission recommended "the purification of higher education of many of its anomalies and abuses", they would be "accused of shutting the door in the face of the poor native aspirant to culture and employment". But he had no hesitation in reaching the conclusion that many of the private aided colleges were imparting "cheap and nasty" education and that the standards of examinations were "disgracefully low". Indian enthusiasts had, in their anxiety to expand higher education, sacrificed quality to numbers. In his view matters had been allowed to drift so far since the Education Commission of 1882-83 that there remained "neither form nor system"; higher education would need to be rebuilt almost from the foundations.<sup>75</sup>

The provincial governments obediently accepted the views put before them by the government of India.<sup>76</sup> The governor general's council discussed the question twice and then entrusted the finalization of policy to a committee consisting of Curzon, Ibbetson, Raleigh and Arundel.<sup>77</sup> The deliberations of the committee issued in the formulation of the policy based largely on the reference to the provinces and embodied the final conclusions of government.

It was claimed that the government desired no break with the past but only the logical continuation of the policy pursued with modifications that experience of fifty years of higher education had shown to be necessary. The University of London by assuming teaching functions in 1900 had indicated the way to Indian universities which were professedly charted on its pattern. It was felt that higher education in India could only flourish under the fostering care and control of government. The chief reason for the enlargement of official control was that in its absence education was "passing into incompetent hands and deteriorating in every direction". In order to introduce and maintain a high standard of education government would have to exercise control. The extent of control

75. Curzon to Northbrook, 21 July 1902. *Curzon Papers*. MSS. Eur. F. 111/182, 103.

76. Local governments and administrations to government of India. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, December 1903, 67-86.

77. Note by Curzon, 2 September 1903. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings*, December 1903, 67-86.



might vary in different cases but it was expected to be most in exercise in Bengal where the university had "fallen into the hands of a coterie of obscure native lawyers who regard educational questions from a political point of view and who offer no opposition to the prevalent tendency to lower the standard of University degree and to multiply colleges of an unsatisfactory type". The usual argument about the large size of the senates was stated and it was proposed to place a maximum limit of 100 for the senior universities and 75 for the new universities. In addition to these there might be *ex-officio* members not exceeding ten in number. The fellows would hold their position for five years and one fifth would retire every year so that the membership would be entirely renewed once in five years. But there would be no retirement during the first three years in the interests of continuity and stability needed for the introduction of the new scheme. One tenth of the fellows would be elected, in the senior universities by graduates and in the new universities by the sanates themselves. Some fellows might be elected to represent the faculties but the total number of elected fellows would not exceed one fifth of the membership at any time. The syndicate would consist of the vice-chancellor as chairman and the director of public instruction and nine to fifteen other fellows elected by the senate from among its own members. The syndics would be elected for two years only. Affiliation or disaffiliation of colleges would be recommended by the universities to the government in whom the power of decision would vest. In the concurrent matter of the recognition of schools the power of decision would vest in the universities instead of the educational departments. Recognition would be governed by rules framed by the syndicates with the approval of government. The conditions for the affiliation of colleges and recognition of schools were those recommended by the Universities Commission. All remaining matters would be dealt with by regulation. Among these the most important was that relating to the courses of teaching.<sup>78</sup> The secretary of state accepted the scheme in its entirety.<sup>79</sup>

78. Government of India to secretary of state, 3 September 1903. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December 1903*, 67-86. Cf. Government of India to local governments and administrations 24 October 1902. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December 1902*, 67-78.

79. Telegram, secretary of state to viceroy, 28 October 1903. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, December 1903*, 67-86.



Indian opposition to the proposed changes was expressed by Gokhale in the legislative council when the Universities Bill was referred to a select committee.<sup>80</sup> He charged that the government had no desire to consult Indian opinion and would only take counsel with Europeans. He cited the composition of the Educational Conference and the Universities Commission: the former had no Indian on it while the latter had no representative of indigenous educational enterprise. In his view the principal reason for the new measure was, in Raleigh's words, "the great army of failed candidates and discontented B.As.". He said: "The truth is that this so called discontent is no more than a natural feeling of disaffection with things as they are, when you have on one side a large and steadily growing educated class of the children of the soil, and on the other a close and jealously guarded monopoly of political power and high administrative office.... I think it is in the power of Government to convert these discontented B.As. from cold critics into active allies by associating them more and more with the administration of the country, and by making its tone more friendly to them and its tendencies more liberal." He conceded that the existing methods of teaching and examination cried aloud for reform but this would not be brought about by the Bill which would only "increase enormously the control of Government over University matters and make the University virtually a Department of the State". He thought that under the new powers of government very little freedom or dignity would be left to the senates. The preponderance of the academic element in the university bodies was understandable but by the proposed changes the government was only seeking to amplify official control.<sup>81</sup>

Curzon attempted to defend the Educational Conference as a purely official consultation with educational experts before framing measures of reform. As to the Universities Commission he

80. The Bill had been earlier introduced on 4 November 1903. *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, 1903, volume xlii* (Calcutta, 1904), pp. 262-275.

81. Gokhale's speech, 18 December 1903. *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, 1903, volume xlii*, (Calcutta, 1904), pp. 305-313.



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asserted that no commission could fully satisfy everybody because provinces, interests, classes and creeds had to be represented. But the arguments were unconvincing because Indians had from the start been insufficiently consulted.<sup>82</sup> He was on surer ground when he said that the object of the new policy was "to raise the standard of education all round, and particularly of higher education...to apply better and less fallacious tests than at present exist to stop the sacrifice of everything in the colleges which constitute our University system to cramming, to bring about better teaching by a superior class of teachers, to provide for closer inspection of colleges and institutions which are now left practically alone, to place the government of the Universities in competent, expert and enthusiastic hands, to reconstitute the Senates, to define and regulate the powers of the Syndicates, to give statutory recognition to elected Fellows who are now only appointed on sufferance... to show the way by which our Universities, which are now merely examining Bodies, can ultimately be converted into teaching institutions; in fact, to convert higher education in India into a reality instead of a sham."<sup>83</sup>

In the final debate on the Bill, Gokhale divided it into three parts relating to the expansion of the functions of the universities, the reconstitution of the university bodies and the control of the affiliated colleges. Ample powers of control over colleges already existed, as the new regulations framed by the University of Madras showed, and the universities were not likely to assume teaching functions in the near future. The Bill had, therefore, to be justified chiefly for the reform of the composition and control of the university bodies. He charged that the government was only trying to place the university bodies in the hands of Europeans under the camouflage of making and keeping them academic. He asserted that more academic senates would not lead to better teaching. That could only be brought about by "better men, more money and improved material", and even then the progress would be slow. He did not concede that the control of universities should be in expert hands as in other countries, because of special political

82. S. Gopal, *op.cit.*, p. 260.

83. Curzon's speech, 18 December 1903. *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, 1903*, volume xlii (Calcutta, 1904), pp. 317-323.



and administrative conditions in India. In his view the government must allow educated Indians a strong voice in the direction of university matters and since the Bill attempted to reduce Indian participation it was a retrograde and reactionary measure.<sup>84</sup>

Gokhale did not appreciate that the government was arming itself with unceasing powers of supervision, vigilance and control over university bodies because it was about to make itself responsible for preserving their academic composition. This involved the transfer of control from Indians to Europeans but that was Curzon's deliberate decision, because the object of the British government was to impart higher education under a system which was inherently European; the control of the universities had to be in European rather than Indian hands. The Bill was passed on 21 March 1904 and became law three days later as the Indian Universities Act VIII of 1904.

The policy in respect of the composition of the new senates and syndicates had been pre-decided. Curzon, as chancellor of the University of Calcutta, addressed the chancellors of other universities outlining the method he was going to follow at Calcutta. The requirement was that the senates should be competent to produce suitable regulations. The fellows should have the competence to form an opinion on university questions and possess soundness on the subject of educational reform, that is they should acknowledge that reforms were needed and cooperate with the government in carrying out its general policy. They should also be able and willing to give regular attention to university work. The government should have a working majority in its favour although this majority could only be narrow. Only those persons should be nominated who would devote themselves entirely to the "great educational reform", specially during the first months when the senates and their committees would be engaged in framing regulations.<sup>85</sup>

84. Gokhale's speech, 18 March 1904. *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, 1904*, volume xliii (Calcutta, 1905), pp. 119-126.

85. Demi-officials, Curzon to Ampthill, Lamington, Rivaz and LaTouche 27 April 1904. *Home Department, Education A Proceedings, September 1904*, 27-40.



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In the case of the University of Calcutta the existing senate elected five fellows and the graduates elected five others. The chancellor nominated 64 fellows and assigned the 74 to various faculties to elect ten fellows to represent the faculties. With these 84 and the chancellor, the rector, the vice-chancellor and six other *ex-officio* fellows the new senate was declared to have been duly constituted. Subsequently seven more fellows were nominated, bringing the total to 100, including nine *ex-officio* fellows. The chancellor then directed the appointment by the new senate of a provisional syndicate which was accordingly appointed on 17 December 1904. The other chancellors followed the same or a similar course but in Bombay the validity of orders to elect fellows by faculties was challenged in court because the orders had the effect of altering the electorate. To place the law beyond doubt the government of India enacted the Indian Universities (Validation) Act on 10 February 1905 regularizing all action taken under the Act of 1904.

The government had power under the Act of 1904 to add to or alter the regulations submitted for its sanction. But the government had also given a pledge that this power would not be used merely to introduce a general uniformity of system or to override the universities in minor matters. It was emphasized that the action of government would be so regulated as to give no ground for a charge that the pledge had been disregarded. It was decided that the existing colleges should be inspected within a specified period and provision made for recurring regular inspection afterwards to ensure that they conformed to the conditions of affiliation. Likewise the conditions for the recognition of schools were also laid down. In respect of courses of teaching the chancellors would be guided by the recommendations of the Universities Commission, but uniformity was not considered advisable. Text-books would be prescribed with the approval of the government. The appointment of professors and lecturers in universities would remain subject to the control of government. These, generally, were the principles that would underlie the new regulations to be framed by the reformed senates.<sup>86</sup>

86. Demi-officials, Curzon to Fraser, Amptill, Lamington, Rivaz and LaTouche, 26 January 1905. *Home Department, Education Deposit Proceedings*, January 1905, 20-21.



The policy pursued by government in respect of higher education points to the conclusion that higher education would pass under the all pervasive umbrella of official direction. As one of the principal factors determining the thinking of the intellectually advanced section of the society higher education was brought under the control of government in order that the thinking of the people might be stressed on a course which should not be inimical to the stability of British power in India. The idea of official control was new in Curzon's time but subsequent progress of higher education and the degree of control exercised in modern times by official bodies over university action shows that it was a step in the right direction.<sup>87</sup> Curzon's thinking on university education was sound but far in advance of the times.

87. Cf. B. B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times* (London, 1961), pp. 281, 293.



## Chandragupta and His Successors\*

BY

M. AROKIASWAMI

The history of the Mauryas is of perennial interest because it is they who for the first time unified India and warded off the first great invasion of the country by Alexander the Great. In fact it is this event that gives us the peg to hang the chronology of India, since the date of the invasion is an accepted one. Still a few important points have yet to be settled to make the history of the Mauryas acceptable and understandable.

### *Chandragupta (324-300 B.C.)*

It is my view that Chandragupta's very origin is not put beyond doubt in spite of patient and laborious researches so far made; and unless we can know this the great power and influence that he brought to bear on the great task of establishing an empire will remain unexplained. The Puranic account of his low birth and enmity with the Nandas which made him an exile for some time must be given up. Indeed a thick veil has been made to cover the origin and early history of Chandragupta Maurya by legends, dramas and Puranic accounts which, though they may not have intended it, have covered with mist the early history of the Mauryas and the veil extends its shadow to his successors.

It is stated that Chandragupta in his early years served the Nandas as a senapati and subsequently fled Magadha having incurred the displeasure of the Nanda king.<sup>1</sup> We have no proof for all this and it is surprising how these have become accepted facts. We know only this, that Chandragupta was in Gandhara.

It is stated in Justin's *Epitoma Pompei Trogei*, XV, 4: which McCrindle translates as follows:

\*A posthumous article.

1. See Sastri K. A. N., *History of India*, Part I, p. 63.



"(Seleucts) waged many wars in the East after the partition of Alexander's empire among his generals. He first took Babylonia and then with his forces augmented by victory subjugated the Bactrians. He then passed over into India, which after Alexander's death, as if the yoke of servitude had been shaken off from its neck, had put his prefects to death. Sandrocottus had been the leader who achieved their freedom but after his victory he had forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator; for, having ascended the throne, he oppressed with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thralldom. He was born in humble life but was prompted to aspire to royalty by an omen significant of an august destiny. For when by his insolent behaviour he had offended king Nandrus,<sup>2</sup> and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he had sought safety by a speedy flight."

In the footnote it is stated as follows: "Instead of the accusative Nandurm the older editions read Alexandrum; which means that he had offended Alexander the Great."

Why do we find Chandragupta in the province of Gandhara in the Punjab before he comes to rule in Magadha, especially since Gandhara was never the province of the Nandas at any time. It was, as history reveals itself, a Persian Satrapy at the time we find Chandragupta there. Xenophen says that Cyrus imposed his sway on the Bacterians and the Indians. [Darius I (522-486 B.C.) the great conqueror of Greece, carried the Persian dominion into Gandhara and even into the valley of the Indus, thus making the way for Alexander the Great when he came nearly one hundred and fifty years afterwards. It appears possible that Chandragupta or Sandrocottus, as the Romans called him, and his family had lived in the Persian Satrapy of Gandhara from early times and that explains his meeting Alexander while yet young and even before he entered into India.

There is doubt in the very name given to Chandragupta Maurya, which is made to wear an Indian look. There are many accounts relating to the ancestry of this king not one of which is

2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. I., *Inscriptions of Asoka*, by E. Hultzsch, pp. xxxiii & xxxiv.



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reliable. The oft-referred to account of the drama *Mudrarakshasa*, for example, derives the name 'Maurya' from the name 'mura' 'the concubine of the last Nanda king', as Prof. Sastri states in his book *Early History of India*.<sup>3</sup> Now such explanations for the name of a great family of kings should not be accepted especially when evidence is sadly lacking. Roman historians of an earlier date call him only Sandrocottus, as for example, when Justin speaks as follows:

"*Sic adquisito regno Sandrocottus ea tempestate  
qua Seleucus futurae magnitudinis fundamenta iaciebat.*"<sup>4</sup>

Was then Chandragupta a Persian? Though it is cutting a new and perhaps strange ground it seems necessary to answer this question in the affirmative. Dr. Spooner in an article entitled *The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History* had made such an affirmation as early as 1915, but he went unnoticed. An enquiry into the true origin of the founder of the Mauryas again brings us to the same conclusion. Archaeological explorations that have helped to bring to light remnants of Asoka's palace at Pataliputra likewise lend support to this view. While the pillars of the edifice are traced to Greek and Persian influence, the Sarnath Lion capital, that functions as the symbol of the Indian Government to-day as drawn from Asoka, is unmistakably Persian. The Mauryan bell-shaped capitals and the smooth enfluted shafts as also the scheme of inscribing on stone first initiated by Asoka in India is again Persian in origin.

Sir John Marshall says in his *Excavations of Taxila* that the very term *Priyadarsin* means Governor or satrap in Persian terminology. We know that Asoka bore this name in certain of his inscriptions. His grandfather Chandragupta used the form *Priyadarsana*, which was just a variant of *Priyadarsin*.<sup>5</sup> These are evidence to show that Chandragupta was a Persian Satrap to start with. We also know that he had occupied the richest satrapy of the Persians at the time of Alexander's invasion since Taxila

3. Sastri K. A. N., *History of India*, Part I, p. 62.

4. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, by E. Hultzsch, p. xxxiii.

5. Sir John Marshall, *Excavations of Taxila*, Vol. I. p. 15.



formed the centre of that province<sup>6</sup> full of Persian remains of sculpture and architecture besides manners and customs. The early type of punch-marked silver coinage found only in this part of India was struck in Persian style in Taxila. "In the Gandhara school we are met at every turn by architectural and sculptural elements", says Marshall "which are obviously traceable to a Persian origin".<sup>7</sup> The distinctively Persian custom of exposing the dead to vultures was also prevalent in this area from very early times. The temple of Jandioli is one of the most interesting monuments unearthed at Taxila. On this Sir John Marshall has the following remarks to offer:<sup>8</sup> "My own view is that this tower was in the nature of Zikurrat, tapering like a pyramid and ascended in the same way as the Zikurrats of Mesopotamia, and I conclude from its presence, as well as from the entire absence of images that the temple was probably Zoroastrian. If this was so, the fire altar may have stood on the summit of the tower."

"The career of Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, sheds lustre on the history of ancient India, for to him belongs the credit of freeing this country from the Macedonian yoke and securing, for the first time, the political unification of the greater part of India under one sceptre."<sup>9</sup>

"The Pali work *Mahavamsatika* describes how both Chanakya and Chandragupta set out for collecting recruits (*balam*) from different places until they were made into a large army (*mahabala-kayam*). Justin describes these recruits by a term which may mean 'robbers' or mercenaries; he evidently means the republican peoples of the Punjab."<sup>10</sup>

"The *Mudrarakshasa* as well as the Jain work *Parisishtaparvan* refers to Chandragupta's alliance with the Himalayan king Parvataka."<sup>11</sup>

With these troops he puts the Governors of Alexander to death and instals himself king of Punjab, and Gandhara, between 325-323

6. Herodotes Vol. III. p. 94.

7. Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

9. *History and Culture of Indian people*, Vol. II, p. 54.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 57.



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B.C. Chandragupta's next task was to rid the country of the internal tyranny of king Nanda. With the help and advise of Chanakya he occupies Pataliputra. While Chandragupta was busy laying the foundations of his empire in India, the Greek king Seleucus who had succeeded Alexander in the eastern part of his empire, was moving towards India to recover the lost possessions of the late emperor in 305 B.C. Chandragupta foiled his attempt and the endeavour of the Greek ended with his ceding the four provinces, Aria, Arachosia, Paropanisadai and Gedrosia belonging to him to Chandragupta in return for five hundred trained war elephants from India.

A closer examination of this later event must reveal two things. There seems to have been something in these provinces which made Seleucus think of ceding them and likewise something in them acceptable to Chandragupta as even the awe-inspiring elephants were pleasing to Seleucus as a gift. That something in these provinces were their Persian character; for it must be obvious that these provinces were within the folds of the Persian empire before the Greek invasion of Alexander and the people who lived there must have been Persian by a large majority. The ancient geographer, Eratosthenes, tells us that all these provinces were of Achemenid empire from which Alexander took them and made them into four separate provinces. Among them Parapanisadai included Gandhara also.<sup>12</sup> Prof. W. W. Tarn in his book *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, which quotes this passage of Eratosthenes, however gives the cause for the ceding of the provinces as the "predominant Indian blood" found in them: "It was these which Seleucus ceded".<sup>13</sup> This is not right and it obviously militates against his prior statement in his book referred to above that they had belonged for a long time to the Persian empire and we know definitely that they had become parts of the Persian empire from the time of Darius I if not earlier.

Chandragupta's acceptance of these Persian Satrapies can be explained only when we understand his Persian Origin. Doubtless he received the ceded provinces with full approval and even with

12. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 1000 where Eratosthenes is quoted.

13. Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 131.



great joy in spite of the fact that they were far away from Magadha and may possibly be a source of unwanted trouble for a man ruling from Pataliputra. As it was, however the offer was accepted and no trouble is recorded for Chandragupta ever afterwards from these ceded provinces. In the same way there is no doubt that the Greek equally appreciated the elephant gift made by the Mauryan king. Seleucus and even Ptolemy I struck the figure of Alexander on their coins with the elephant scalp and even Demetrius much later represented himself on his coins in the same mode. It was considered by them as a symbol of power. Demetrius, we know, even used the scalp as a headgear.

Chandragupta or Sandrocottus, as the Greeks called him, was thus an Indianised Persian Satrap, who established the first Great Indian Empire in Pataliputra. He had the assistance of the great political expert Chanakya, a brahmin of Punjab and a council of Ministers and two popular assemblies the *Paura* and the *Janapada*. He had established his empire on his power and popular support. He also maintained a well sized army of 600,000 as Plutarch and Justin tell us. On the administration of this army Magasthenes throws light when he tells us that it was systematically managed by a war office of 30 members divided equally into six Boards, controlling the infantry, cavalry, the chariots and the Elephant corps, the admiralty and transport.

Following the Persian system he divided his unwieldy empire into Provinces ruled by Governors and Viceroy. Diodorus, Strabo and Arrian and most certainly Megasthenes leave us in no doubt with regard to provincial administration of the period. The capital of the empire was at Pataliputra at the confluence of the rivers Ganges and the Son not far from Modern Patna.

#### *Bindusara (300-273 B.C.)*

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara, described as the "devourer of foes" (*amitraghata*), who had extended his kingdom from the eastern seas to the western seas. The name Bindusara is itself a puranic name. It was the Greeks who first called him as 'allitrochades' and 'Amtrochatos', which has been rendered into Sanskrit as 'Amitraghata' and 'Amitrakanda' a slayer of foes. This is proof of his valiance exhibited in the territory of the



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Greeks themselves at the frontier of India. That he had close connections with them is seen in the continuance of their ambassadors at Pataliputra where Megasthenes was succeeded by Deimachus. Pliny tells us that Ptolemy II Philadelphus king of Egypt (285-247 B.C.) sent an ambassador to the court of Pataliputra by name Dionysius. We also know that Bindusara was in terms of great intimacy with Antiochus I Sotar, the Syrian king from whom he would apparently get figs and sweet wine from time to time.

That Bindusara had other children besides Asoka is obvious for example, from the V Rock Edict, Kalsi where Asoka refers to them with fraternal interest:<sup>14</sup>

- I. Mahamatras of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.
- II. They are occupied everywhere, here and in all the outlying towns, in the harems of our brothers of (our) sisters and (of) whatever other relatives (of ours there are).

*Asoka, the Great (273-236 B.C.)-*

Bindusara was succeeded by his son Asoka, who was Viceroy at Taxila, to the great Mauryan empire. Everyone knows that even in the reign of this good emperor there came a war, generally called the Kalinga war. But the slaughter and sufferings of the people consequent on this moved him so deeply that it marked a turning point in his career in that it made the king a lay worshipper (upāsaka). His Kalsi edict XIII speaks of this in great detail:<sup>15</sup>

- (A) When king Devanampriya Priyadarsin had been anointed eight years (the country of) the Kalingas was conquered by (him).
- (B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand

14. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I *Inscriptions of Asoka*, by E. Hultzsch, p. 33.

15. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. I *Inscriptions of Asoka*, by E. Hultzsch, p. 47.



in number were those who were slain there, and many times those who died.

- (C) After that now that (the country of) the Kalingyas has been taken, Devanampriya (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

\* \* \* \*

- (D) For this is considered as very painful and deplorable by Devanampriya, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

\* \* \* \*

- (E) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were deported at that time when (the country of) Kalingyas was taken (would) now be considered very deplorable by Devanampriya.

What was the nature of the great Kalinga war, the results of which had given much remorse to this great emperor? Was it only a war against the Kalinga, the modern (Orissa), or was it arraigned against a larger area. Though this question has not so far disturbed scholars, it is nevertheless a very important issue that needs to be settled. The Kalinga country here mentioned seems to have been the old Kalinga referred to by Pliny, the Greek writer, who borrows from Megasthenes. Pliny distinguishes three Kalingas, the Macco-Galingoe, Gongaridas Calingoe and the Calingoes. The Kalinga war seems to have embraced all the three.<sup>16</sup> It is in this background that the use of the term Kalingas, in plural in the thirteenth Khalsi edict is to be understood. The edict begins thus:

- (C) After that, now that (the country of the Kalingyas has been taken, Devanampriya (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality."<sup>17</sup>

16. Mehtab: *History of Orissa*, p. 6.

17. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, by E. Hultzsch, p. 47.



Besides, unless we consider that the Kalinga war was really of large dimension we cannot understand the thousands of maimed ones, dead and those carried as captives to which this same stone record clearly refers. And then there is the change of mind brought on the conqueror by the war which gives us an unmistakable indication of its magnitude. Asoka himself tells us that this was his first and last war. If he had not waged it over a large area, as we contend, we cannot also explain his great conquests, since all of them must have been made only in this one war.

We must now try to identify "the three Kalingyas", as Pliny calls them. Macco Calingoes must have comprised the Andhra country from Bhuvaneshvar extending southwards as far as Masulipatnam (the Maisolos of Ptolemy which is the same as the Macco of Pliny). Gongarides Calingoe refers to the region further down comprising modern Telingana extending as far as Mysore, the region of the Gangas. The Calingoes must have been the people further south going down as far as Ceylon. The dominion of the ancient Colas and Pandyas did indeed extend up to that island and the region of the Tamraparni mentioned in Khalsi Elict is in fact Ceylon, the Taprobane of the Greeks. This identification is strengthened by the statement of Pliny that the people who occupied the first two regions were separate and were different from the Calingoes. "The Macco-Calingoe and the Gongaridas—Calingoe are separate people from the Calingoes."<sup>18</sup> The Malaya and Indonesians call Indians as Kelingas even to-day. Further, in Sanskrit it is stated *no Kalingas—Jagama* "I never went to the Kalingas" is cited as an example of the past perfect in the first person as a grammatical rule in case of an emphatic denial.<sup>19</sup>

The modern state of Orissa and the northern part of Andhra, supposed to contain the whole of Kalinga, are even to-day covered in a large portion by forests and not thickly populated. Two

<sup>18</sup> Mehtab, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>19</sup> Patanjali, *Mahabhasya on Panini*, III. 2. 115.



thousand years back the position must have been much worse. The question naturally arises is from where so many as indicated by the Khalsi record came to war with Asoka, unless we surmise that the 'Kalingyas' referred to here were a larger areas than mere Orissa and a part of Andhra.

Certain references to the 'Moriyar' invasion of the Tamil country have been pointed out by scholars now for some time in the poem of the Sangam age. In these we are told that it reached down to the Pothiyal hills in the South. The term "*vamba Moriya*" is used in these poems, possibly to refer to the strength of the foes. Clearly the reference here is to the Asoka invasion of the Tamil country during the Kalinga war, since neither his father nor his grandfather ever conquered this region or even made an invasion of it. Besides he alone among all the Mauryan rulers refers to the Colas and Pandyas of the South as he does also to the Andhras and the Pulindas.

On the other hand, after the Kalinga war we find Asoka touring the southern districts. He has come to Suvarnagiri in Mysore from Maski. In the present day Suvarnagiri comprises about 3 or 4 villages, Siddhapur, Devasumadi, Roopa, Virupapura. Elderly people in Siddapur and Maski keep alive the tradition of Asoka's visit to these places to this day. Dr. Fleet, a sufficiently high authority in these matters, indeed states that the Mysore edicts were issued from Suvarnagiri by Asoka, though he identifies the place wrongly in Bihar.<sup>20</sup> Besides the modern village of Siddapur is only about two kilometers from the rock edict of Brahmagiri at the foot of which lies the ruined city of Suvarnagiri and about eight kilometer from Chitaldrug, a railway station in Mysore state. The Brahmagiri inscription is engraved on a boulder of the Brahmagiri hill. This is a second Asokan inscription in the region only about one kilometer from the first and close to Siddapur village. There is also a third inscription on the western summit of the Jatinga Ramesvara hill which is about five kilometers from the Brahmagiri hill. The close proximity of these records is indeed noteworthy.

20. Fleet, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909.



The Brahmagiri rock inscription has the following passage:

- (A) "From Suvarnagiri at the word of the prince (Ar̥ya-putra) and of the Mahamatras, the Mahamatras at Isila must be wished good health and be told this: .
- (B) Devanampriya commands (as follows).
- (C) More than two and a half years (have passed) since I (am) a lay-worshipper (upasaka).
- (D) But indeed I had not been very zealous for one year.
- (E) But indeed a year and somewhat more (have passed) since I have visited the Samgha and have been very zealous. (These foreign countries will be identified later).
- (F) But men in Jambudvīpa, being during that time unmingled (are now) mingled with the gods.
- (G) For this is the fruit of zeal.
- (H) For this cannot be reached by (a person) of high rank alone, but indeed even a lowly (person) can at liberty attain the great heaven if he is zealous.<sup>21</sup>

These excerpts from the Brahmagiri inscriptions clearly bear out the following points. The King had become an upasaka immediately after the Kalinga war and had begun the work of touring, and preaching morality. The record clearly states that already by that time two hundred and fifty-six nights have been spent on tour. Was he preaching by the day and touring during the night? The first two inscriptions about the Brahmagiri region, to which reference has been made, also refer to Asoka being on tour. Having stayed for sometime at Suvarnagiri, Asoka went to the neighbouring village of Jaunagiri, where a Minor rock edict exists to this day. The rock edict generally called the Erragudi minor rock edict<sup>22</sup> speaks again in the manner of the Suvarnagiri

21. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka* p. 177. This idea is explained again in Maski edict "The object can be reached even by a lowly person who is devoted to morality." (op. cit., 175).

22. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXII, pt. I.



inscription about the comparative lassitude of the king for some-time after he became an upasaka and of the active life into which he had just entered. The idea of the king having been on tour is also emphasised: "This proclamation is being issued by me (when I have been) on tour (for) 256 days."<sup>23</sup>

Dr. D. C. Sircar, the editor of the inscriptions, refers to the haste of the inscriber and the irregularities he has committed which must be explained by the fact that the king was on tour. The name of the scribe is not mentioned for the same reason; he must have been the same Chapada of the Brahmagiri record. The similarities between the styles of two records and the general Mysore style of both again bear out the same conclusion.

The royal tour referred to in Asokan inscriptions has not been sufficiently emphasised by scholars. And yet this is really a unique thing for an emperor to go about personally preaching morality through the length and breadth of the then known world. Thomas, commenting on the Sahasram rock inscription compares the word 'virutha' occurring in that record with 'vyushtam', which is a division of time 'and Hultzsch agreeing with Thomas says that in Asoka's time both Vivvytha' and vivasa' apparently meant a "civil day spent in travelling, an absence of twentyfour hours from headquarters."<sup>24</sup> Asoka might have gone from Jaunagiri to Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda, Undavalli, Kanchipura and hence to Kaveripatnam, Cola and Pandyan countries and to Ceylon.

Asoka's personal mission to Ceylon has not been suspected so far: nevertheless such seems to be the truth. The mention in *Mahavamsa* of the visit of Prince Vijaya to Ceylon must refer only to Asoka's visit and not to that of some unidentifiable person. The Brahmagiri rock inscriptions state as follows:

(A) From Suvarnagiri, at the word of the prince (Arya-putra) and of the Mahamatras, the Mahamatras at Isila must be wished good health and be told this:

(B) Devanampriya commands (as follows).<sup>25</sup>

23. *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXII.

24. Hultzsch: *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 171.

25. Hultzsch: *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 177.



This clearly indicates that Asoka was called a Prince prior to his departure to Ceylon since he is mentioned in the Mahavamsa as Prince Vijaya, the conqueror.

The Mahavamsa, while describing the rulers of Pataliputra, indeed refers to Asoka as the conqueror (prince Vijaya) and says, "this conqueror became sovereign king over the whole Jambudvipa"<sup>26</sup> Further the same chronicle says that the island became Buddhist in the reign of Devanampriya Tissa. This person has not yet been identified. Tissa is obviously the head of the Buddhist sangha who in fact convoked the third Buddhist council in Asoka's time and Devanampriya was Asoka himself. It therefore follows that Asoka himself went down to Ceylon and the Mahavamsa interpreted the whole event by saying incorrectly that Ceylon became Buddhist in the reign of Devanampriya Tissa. There was nothing but tribal rule in Ceylon at this time. This statement is just on a par with another of the Chronicle when it says that a son and daughter of Asoka came to Ceylon evangelising that island. This is obviously wrong, though not suspected till now, since at the time which the Chronicle refers Asoka could not have a son or a daughter so grown up as to lead a religious mission to a foreign land. It must be held that a monk and a nun of the Buddhist order had been sent to that island after the visit of Asoka. Not without reason does Vincent Smith aver in his book on Asoka that the stories connected with "the conversion of Ceylon by the king's son and daughter is a tissue of absurdities."<sup>27</sup>

Asoka's stay in Suvarnagiri has left monuments of military garrisons which can still be seen in ruins in and around that place. His arrival at Amravati and Nagarjunakonda can be established by fragments of his inscriptions discovered in these places. The rock cut Buddhist caves at Undavalli testify to his presence in these places. His stay in Kanchipura can be equally evidenced by the statue of Buddha found in the Madras Museum. This has been recovered from that place and belongs to the time of Asoka. Its face, ear lobes and the tassel over the shoulder as well as the crowned head clearly indicate the period of the statue. It is of

26. *Mahavamsa* (Geiger), p. 44 ff.

27. Geiger, *op. cit.*, pp. xvi. where Smith is also quoted.



the same type as the Buddha statue at Amravati. For long Kanchipura remained the central hearth of Buddhism in the south of India till as late as Hiuen-tsang's visit; and the Chinese pilgrim indeed states that he saw there stupas built by Asoka.<sup>28</sup> From Kanchipura he went to Kaveripatnam where Buddhist relics and remains of Buddhist monasteries were recently excavated and to Cola and Pandya countries situated on the banks of the rivers Kaveri and Tamraparni. No inscriptions were recorded as the cities and villages were on the plains, ruins of which can be seen even to-day.

Poet Mamulanar speaks of the division of the Mauryan army helping the Kōsar against the chieftain of Mohur, which implies that even a Mauryan garrison had been left behind in south India by Asoka, because the event referred to here need not be confined to the date of Mamulanar but may even be earlier. The department of Archaeology in Kerala has referred to a find of ancient punch-marked coins found in Eyyal Village of Talapalli taluk of the district of Trichur the dates of which are supposed to range from Pre-Mauryan times. But in the entire hoard only four seem to belong to Pre-Mauryan times, while twenty-six belong to Mauryan times, which clearly indicates that the north-south connections in India which was negligible at first, suddenly rose to importance in Mauryan times.<sup>29</sup>

After his return to the capital from the southern tour he ruled his kingdom. The villar Edict of Delhi Topra,<sup>30</sup> which is the longest of Asoka's Pillar edicts must have been issued almost as last will and testament of the dying emperor, as Dr. Sen would imply. He says tradition records that Asoka died at Taxila which may mean either the city or the province. It may therefore be surmised that shortly after the engraving of this edict on the Delhi Topra pillar Asoka died. He thus established the Law of piety all over his vast empire and died in 236 B.C. universally beloved, one of the greatest kings of India.

28. D. C. Sircar, *Successors of Satavahanas*, p. 140.

29. "Numismatic finds and Kerala Trade" (*The Hindu*, dated 20-12-1964 p. 16) reads as follows: "The Punch marked coins have been classified into three groups; mainly pre-Mauryan and post Mauryan. The general conception is that the early pre-Mauryan coins are thin, broad circular or elliptical or of irregular geometric shape."

30. A. C. Sen, *Edicts of Asoka*, p. 143.



*The Immediate Successors of Asoka*

The reconstructions of the history after Asoka bristles with difficulties. This is made worse by late traditions, which ascribe the succession to various persons like Samprati, Jaloka, Salisuka and Virasena. The only person, however, about whom we have reliable evidence here is Subhagasena<sup>31</sup> about whom the Greek accounts speak. There is a contemporary reference to him in the account of Antiochus the great who is mentioned as making a treaty with him "thus renewing the ancestral friendship" in 206 B.C. gaining some elephants for his army thereby. This is reliable because of the circumstance in which Asoka died at Taxila. A Greek invasion was expected at that time and the reference is to what is narrated in the Greek account. Antiochus the Greek made an attempt to invade India and having failed in it entered into a peace treaty with Subhagasena. Who was this Subhagasena? He is the grandson of Asoka having in view the interval that passed between the death of Asoka and the date of this treaty. We also know that Asoka's son Kunala was at Taxila at the time of Asoka's death and this Subhagasena was Kunala's son succeeding the father at Taxila as emperor. The Puranas mention Samprati as one of the successors of Asoka, while the editor of the Hathigumpha inscription following the evidence of *Divyavadana* equates Samprati with a grandson of Asoka, "yuvaraja while his father Kunala was viceroy at Takshasila."<sup>32</sup> Prof. K. A. N. Sastri also makes Samprati the son of Kunala and grandson of Asoka.<sup>33</sup> Thus it would appear that Samprati was the same as Subhagasena. Now, the puranas place Salisuka after Samprati and he seems to have been the son of Samprati. Taking the death of Asoka as in 237 B.C. the dates of his successors, so far known, can be roughly fixed as follows:

Kunala (237—227 B.C.)<sup>34</sup>

Samprati (227—202 B.C.)

Salisuka (202—177 B.C.)

31. The Greek accounts call him Sophagasenas (see Tarn: *op. cit.* 103).

32. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX.

33. K. A. N. Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

34. Kunala was of an advanced age when Asoka died since he was Viceroy for many years even in Asoka's time.



The Greek accounts throw some welcome light on this point. Demetrius, the invincible, son of Euthydemus of Bacteria made an invasion of India. This man, whose figure on the coin wears the elephant scalp, wanted to be a second Alexander. Bouyed up by an insatiable lust for conquest he crossed the Hindukush about 187 B.C.<sup>35</sup> He marched gradually into India and to Pataliputra after settling his conquests as he went. He founded the city of Sagala (modern Sialkot) in the Punjab, which he called Euthydemia in memory of his father, conquered the Rajaputna, besieged Saketa and then went to Pataliputra, which Strabo calls Palibothra. It is clear that the Demetrian invasion took place when Salisuka was on the throne at Taxila. The long drawn-out invasion progressed even into the reign of his successor.

#### *Kharavela of Kalinga*

The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela gives us an unexpected information with regard to the Demetrian invasion of Pataliputra when it says that Kharavela who had undergone an extensive training at Gandhara<sup>36</sup> was a yuvaraja during that period. This must have been during the later part of Salisuka's reign and Kharavela seems to be none other than the son of Salisuka. It also seems certain that when Demetrius' invasion had reached Pataliputra Kharavela himself had succeeded to the Mauryan throne and young Kharavela evacuated Taxilla and moved east to meet the Greek invader. Pataliputra being inaccessible to him apparently at that time owing to its prior occupation by Demetrius Kharavela seems to have moved further east towards modern Orissa.

The Hathigumpha inscription<sup>37</sup> is found in the Udayagiri hills about ten kilometers from Bhuvaneswar, the modern capital of Orissa. The record engraved obviously in Kharavela's own life time (see the king's salutation mentioned in line I in right Asoka style) is written in box type script, is in Prakrit and bears the

35. K. A. N. Sastri: *History of India*, part I, p. 106.

36. See line 5 of the inscription. The reference here is either to the "sciences of Gandharas", or to music. The former however appears to be more apt in this connection.

37. *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, 87-88.



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Swastika symbol which is Aryan. It must be remembered that in his Siddapur inscription Asoka calls himself Aryaputra and that the two edicts of Jaugada also bear the Swastika. Kharavela clearly says in his salutation "by illustrious Kharavela, the Aira the great king, the descendant of Maghamekhavahana, the increaser (of the glory) of the Cheti (Chedi) dynasty, (endowed) with excellent and auspicious marks and features possessed of virtues which have reached (the ends of) the four quarters, overlord of Kalinga." Now, this very line leads to two serious difficulties in identifying Kharavela as a Mauryan king. The first comes from the mention of the Cheti dynasty to which Kharavela is said to belong and the second from his being mentioned as the overlord of Kalinga. Dr. N. Mahtab in his book *History of Orissa* mentions a tradition that Asoka renamed Kalinga (Orissa) as the kingdom of the Cheti after his conquest of the region by him.<sup>38</sup> The kings who ruled over it after Asoka were naturally called kings of the Cheti dynasty. Nothing stands in the way of their being the descendants of Asoka. The designation "Overlord of Kalinga taken by Kharavela" is a more apt description of him. Why does not Kharavela call himself the descendant of Asoka especially in an inscription which is so descriptive as the Hathigumpā? Because he occupied the kingdom of Kalinga only and not the whole kingdom of Asoka and from inborn modesty it is possible that Kharavela does not call himself a descendant of Asoka just as the inheritor of Ujjain, Devanampriya Dasaratha, does not call himself too.

In line 8 the inscription speaks about Kharavela's encounter with Demetrius, 'causes pressure on Rajagraha (Rajagriha). On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the Yavana (Greek) King Dimi (ta) retreated to Mathura having extricated his demoralised army and transport .... (he) gives .... with foliage.'<sup>39</sup> The Greek king's defeat is unmistakably alluded to here, as the stone record of Hathigumpā graphically narrates, "and with great difficulty gathered together whatever could be gathered of his army and disappeared." The *Yuga Purana* section of the *Gargi-Samhita* contains in section 5 a vivid account

38. Mehtab: *op. cit.*, p. 21.

39. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX.



of the battle between Demetrius and Kharavela in Pataliputra "on the mud-embedded western ramparts with engines (ballistics and catapults)".

Line 11 of the record runs as follows: "And the marked town .... Pithumda rounded by the Ava king he ploughs down with a plough of asses; and (he) thoroughly breaks up the confederacy of the T(R) amira (Dramira) countries of one hundred and thirteen years which has been a source of danger to (his) country (Janapada). And in the twelfth year he terrifies the kings of the utarapatha with ..... thousands of ....." This refers to the southward march of the king Kharavela through the Andhra country to which the mention of the name Pithumda points (Ptolemy places it on the Krishna doab). What follows is clearer still since the term Dramira confederation can only refer to that of the great Tamil powers of the period. The Sangam works, some of the poems of which may even refer to this period, do mention the great enmity between these powers and the northern kings. The reference in *Silappadikaram* to the Cera king's northern expedition marks his route only through the Andhra and Orissa countries. We have seen that Asoka had made the Tamil kingdoms his border Kingdoms after the Kalinga war. Now, after Asoka's death they had perhaps regained their independence and that would explain Kharavela's expedition to the south.

Line 12 runs as follows: "And causing panic amongst the people of Magadha (he) drives (his) elephants into the Sugamgiya (Palace) and (he) makes the King of Magadha Bahasatmita, bow at his feet ..... and causes to be brought home the riches of Anga and Magadha along with the keepers of the family jewels of ....." Bahasatmita is none other than Pushyamitra Sunga, the Commander-in-chief of the Asokan empire. It would appear that after the defeat of Demetrius Kharavela had gone on a southern expedition when Pushyamitra Sunga occupied Pataliputra. The general view among historians that he exterminated the Maurya is to be understood in a very restricted way especially in the light of these circumstances. Kharavela was the great grandson of Asoka (as has been mentioned earlier) who did not allow Pushyamitra to take possession of Pataliputra. Far from exterminating the Mauryas, Pushyamitra was himself defea-



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ted in the attempt at the hands of Kharavela. Reference is made in this line to Kharavela bringing with him to Kalinga, the riches of Amga and Magadha, as well as the "Keepers of the family jewels" evidently to Asoka. This indicates more than a mere defeat of Pushyamitra.

In line 13 it is said that he built "excellent towers" with carved interiors and creates a settlement of a hundred masons giving them exemption from the land revenue. The truth of the passage is seen from the masonry art still to be seen in Bhuvan-  
 neswar museum. He is also said to have brought there jewels and rubies "Numerous pearls in hundreds he causes to be brought here from the Pandya king." The reference to the pearls brought from the Pandya king, confirms beyond doubt Kharavela's conquest of the south. In line 16 of this inscription we find mention of the king's setting up "four columns inland with beryl" a precious stone that, was obtained only in the Kongu of the south in the region of the modern districts of Coimbatore.<sup>40</sup> This taken together with the above reference to the pearls indicate the close connection that must have existed between Kharavela and the south in the II century B.C. to which the inscription refers.

Mr. B. B. Lal in an article contributed to the Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India<sup>41</sup> says that the fort of Sisupalgarh located about two kilometers from the town of Bhuvan-  
 eswar was built either during the time of Asoka or that of Kharavela. But on his own showing Kharavela did have a hand in it, since excavations at the spot have revealed "a collapse and subsequent repair" of the southern gateway to which reference is made in the Hathigumpha record.<sup>42</sup> Hence the conclusion of Mr. Lal, "Excavations revealed that the site was occupied from the beginning of the third century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century A.D. The defences were erected at the beginning of the second century B.C."<sup>43</sup> This confirms that Kharavela on his arrival from Taxila strengthened the fortress of Sisupalgarh and established himself.

40. Arokiaswami, *Kongu country*, p. 75.

41. Edited by the Director-General of Archaeology in India, No. 5, Jan. 1949.

42. Hathigumpha Inscriptions, line. 3.

43. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX.



Kharavela patronised Jainism. He offered royal maintenance to Jain monks and called them together to a council here; plans for the propagation of the faith were discussed.<sup>44</sup> From here Jainism spread into Ujjain, Gujarat and South India. There are huge images of Jain Tirthankaras (prophets) carved out in the rocks in Gwalior fort. It must have been done by the Bharasiva Naga family of Padmavathi some of the descendants of Kharavela. Forty miles south of Gwalior is the modern village of Powaya which has been identified as the site of the ancient city of Padmavati, and where a two faced Sun-capital and a palm capital were recovered. All of them are now kept in the Archaeological museum at Gwalior (They are Asokan symbols). The Nagas of Mathura who were also the descendants of Karavela were Jains, as seen by exhibits of Jain Theerthankaras Lion Capitals at Mathura and Lucknow Museums. Exhibits in the Madras Museum show many Jain Thirthankaras recovered from all over South India. In Mysore State there are Jain Thirthankara statues, some of them may have been erected in Khravela's life time. Thus the Jain religion spread into South India.

He built five residential buildings for Jain ascetics, of importance with stones brought from different and distant places.<sup>45</sup> Columns, four in number were also erected at the same time.<sup>46</sup> The remnant of a column to be seen in Bhuvaneswar Museum presumably erected by Kharavela is of white granite unobtainable in or around Bhuvaneswar. The bell-capital to be seen in the same site resembled fully the Asokan bell-capital. The disfigured statue of a lion of Saranath model is also found in the museum. Kharavela is also said to have built tanks and cisterns for improvement of agriculture. The Hathigumpha record in line 3 clearly mentions this part of Kharavela's work; "He causes the erection of the embankments of the lake (called after) Khibera Rishi, (and) of (other) tanks and cisterns also". The cistern which is to be seen in ruined state to-day about two kilometers from the Bhuvaneswar museum resembles indeed a Greek cistern, with the sides protruding inside, and even now full of water.

44. *Ibid.*45. *Ibid.*46. *Ibid.*



The last line of the Hathigumpha record runs thus in translation "One whose empire is protected by the chief of the empire (himself) descended from the family of the Royal Sage Vasu, the great Conqueror, the King, the illustrious Kharavela..."<sup>47</sup> This line testifies to the fact that Kharavela was an emperor and that he ruled over an empire. What historians have so far described about Kharavela as a small ruler who occupied modern Orissa (only a part of Asoka's dominions) does not tally with this statement. The chief queen of Kharavela calls her husband Kalinga emperor (Kalinga Cakravarti) in the Manchapuri inscription.<sup>48</sup> The descent from the royal sage seems to give direct proof to his connection with Asoka, to which reference has already been made. In a Deotek inscription a 'sami' addresses his official (amaca) at Chikrambari; The 'sami' is the lord king. Prof. Mirashi, who exhibited an estampage of the record at the Mysore Oriental Conference in 1936 identifies the 'sami' with Asoka himself.<sup>49</sup> The very term 'vasu' implies 'protector' or 'king'.

#### *The Successors of Kharavela*

We know that the king Ava was defeated at Pithumda<sup>50</sup> in the Andhra country from line 11 of the Hathigumpha record. This king Ava is the same as Kuberaka of the Andhra kings. His date may therefore be roughly placed about 160 B.C. This was the period of the southern expedition of Kharavela. After Kharavela's death his successors continued to rule from Sisupalgarh as is seen from the donative records from the Udayagiri hills. If Kharavela grew into manhood in Kalinga as the Hathigumpha record informs us we may assign his death roughly to 150 B.C. basing ourselves on the established date of the Demetrian invasion of Pataliputra.<sup>51</sup> The two successors mentioned in the Udayagiri records may be taken to have ruled between 150 and 100 B.C.<sup>52</sup>

47. Hathigumpha Inscriptions, line 16, see. f.n.

48. Gopalachari: *Early History of the Andhra country*, p. 68.

49. *Indian Antiquity*, Vol. XX. p. 86.

50. The Placing of Pithumda is justified by the details found in Ptolemy's Geography. See Gopalachari, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

51. Gopalachari. *loc. cit.*

52. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX (See the note on Hathigumpha Ins. and f.n.).



What happened to the Kharavela line after his death was not clear till now. What really happened was that some of his successors after 100 B.C. went down to the Andhra and the Tamil country and established themselves as rulers of these regions. The Vayalur record of the Pallavas gives us a list of several rulers of this dynasty of whom 1-21 are held by scholars as either legendary or unhistorical. Nos. 1-8 are also mentioned, in the Kuram, Udayendiran and Velurpalayam plates and the name Asoka (9th of the list) is mentioned in the Kasakudi plates also.<sup>53</sup> The rulers 10-22 of the list were the rulers who had occupied the Andhra country between 100 B.C.-200 A.D. when Pulumayi II and Yagña Satakarni, the Satavahana rulers subdued them.

It is in this way that we must explain the Naga rule spoken of by Ptolemy (140 A.D.) in the eastern coast of the Peninsula from modern Masulipatnam southwards. In this area Ptolemy demarcates two regions of Naga rule, that of Bosranaga in the north and of Sornaga in the south. The former was that was called Aruvanadu (Ptolemy's Arourainoi) extending northwards along the coast and the latter was called Soramandalam (which became later Colamandalam or Coramandal) after Sornaga. D. C. Sircar writes on this as follows: "This Arourainoi was practically the same as the Kanchimandala i.e., the district round Kanci. Its capital was however at Malanga, which appears in Ptolemy's map far to the north of Kanchi. Ptolemy's Malanga may be identified with Amaravati on the banks of the Krishna while the Capital of Kancimandala was a southern Malanga."<sup>54</sup> The Madras Museum has to show among its exhibits from Amaravati an elephant-mounted bell capital and figures of two lions (Asokan) which must be dated in the period of the Naga rule there.<sup>55</sup> These Nagas must be none other than the successors of Kharavela who had come down south from the Orissa region round 100 B.C. and were defeated 300 years after by Pulumayi and Yajñasri.

53. D. C. Sircar, *Successors of Satavahanas*, p. 378.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

55. The lions according to the Curator of the Museum, adorned the gateways of the city.



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The chronology of these rulers can be proved by roughly assigning 25 years of rule for each one of them as found in the Vayalur record of the Pallavas (No. 10-22) and we would reach the date assigned for their subjugation by the Satavahana rulers.

*List as found in the Vailur Record*

1. Brahman		
2. Angira		
3. Brahaspati		
4. Sayu		
5. Bharadvaja		
6. Drona		
7. Asvatthaman		
8. Pallava		
9. Asoka		
10. Harogupta	100 B.C.	75 B.C.
11. Butadhatta	75 B.C.	50 B.C.
12. Suryavarman	50 B.C.	25 B.C.
13. Vishnugopa	25 B.C.	1 B.C.
14. Ghrtaka	1 B.C.	25 A.D.
15. Kalinda	25 A.D.	50 A.D.
16. Jayamalla	50 A.D.	75 A.D.
17. Ripumalla	75 A.D.	100 A.D.
18. Vimala	100 A.D.	125 A.D.
19. Kongani	125 A.D.	150 A.D.
20. Kalabharata	150 A.D.	175 A.D.
21. Cutapallava*	175 A.D.	200 A.D.
22. Virakurca	200 A.D.	225 A.D.

\* D. C. Sircar, *Successors of Satavahanas*, pp. 377-378.

Names of 1st to 7th are legendary and it is noteworthy that two of the kings mentioned in the list bears the name Pallava and Asoka.



*Rulers of South-east Asia*

The story of Kaundiniya's conquest of South-East Asia is a tradition and it is now commonly believed both in South-east Asia and on the mainland. South-east Asia had already been formed giving the title direct to the story that Kaundiniya went there in the first century A.D. and taught the people there to cover their nakedness and married a Naga princess. Indeed the stories circling round Kaundiniya must be revised and understood to refer to some early conquests of the region from the mainland. This is further clear from the fact that later Monarchs of Cambodia where Kaundiniya is supposed to have landed never claim descent from him but from a person called Maharishi Brigu.<sup>56</sup> "Local tradition in Yunnan (south China) affirms that the royal family was descended from Asoka .... the founding of Ligor in the Malay peninsula is ascribed to a descendant of Asoka" says R. C. Majumdar.<sup>57</sup> Funan formed part of south China in early times. The date of Kaundiniya's conquest of the Funan has been assigned by some to the middle of the II century A.D. on purely circumstantial evidence. The truth however, lies in antedating this conquest to the II century B.C. No less a scholar than Coedes opines that the Hindus colonised south-east Asia during the II and I centuries B.C. and Mr. O. C. Gangoly adduces independent evidence from Indian literature in its support.<sup>58</sup>

This is what is meant by the story of the Kaundiniya conquest which is really the conquest of South-east Asia by the descendants of Kharavela. These are called the descendants of sage Vasu in Indian records and as those of sage Brigu in South East Asian records and as those of Kaundiniya gotra in other records. This was due to a general equation between these gotras to mean a Brahminical gotra. That these were the Nagas, who are mentioned as the "Original Rulers" of South east Asia, is also beyond doubt. They held full sway over the east coast of India for a

56. Sastri, K. A. N. *History of India, Part I*, p. 170.

57. Majumdar, *History and Culture of Indian People*, II, 655.

58. Gangoly: "Relation between India and Indonesian Culture" (*Greater Indian Society Journal*, 1940, see also Prof. Sylvain Levi. Ptolemie Nid-  
desa et la Prohat Katha" in *Etudes Asiatiques*, II, (1925).



period of 300 years and more of which the ship mast coins of the region referred to by Prof. Rapson,<sup>59</sup> is a clear indication. The appearance of these coins of the double mast on one side and the Ujjain Symbol (which is Asokan) on the other refers to the sea power of the Nagas. R. P. Jackson, referring to this, mentions coins of the same kind bearing symbols like rayed chakra (again reminding one of Asoka) crab, star, tree and ship with two masts belonging to very early times.<sup>60</sup> Excavations in Champa have yielded a bronze Buddha over 3½ feet high in the Amaravati style which was once the region of the Naga rule.

"In this connection," says, D. C. Sircar, "we should also notice the Buddhist traditions of Ceylon and Siam which speak of a Naga country on the coast near the Diamond sands" to the south of Dantapura between the mouth of the Ganges and Ceylon." D. C. Sircar is right in identifying this region with Masulipatam and its surroundings.<sup>61</sup> The only difficulty here lies in the different dates of the tradition. The Ceylonese tradition gives the dates as B.C. 157 while the Siamese tradition is dated between 310 and 313 A.D. when the Naga rule had ended on the Coromandal.

The reason for this is that the Siamese identified the successors of the Nagas with the Pallavas of Sivaskandavarman line and the Nagas of South-east Asia. In the *Mahavamsa* there is reference to a country called Pallava Bhoga "from which the wise Mahadeva along with many bhikshus is said to have come to Ceylon on the occasion of the construction of the great stupa at Anuradhapura"<sup>62</sup> for which the date 157 B.C. is assigned. Obviously they had come from the region of Nagarjunakonda, Amaravati and Kaveripatnam, which was then the centre of Buddhism. Thus the people to whom the Ceylon Chronicle refers were none other than the Nagas. There is no contradiction between the evidence from Siam and

59. Rapson, *Catalogue* 1, xx. xl.

60. *British Numis. Journal*. IX., 193, (Jackson).

61. D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

62. *Mahavamsa* (Geigar) 194.



that from Ceylon. They conjointly fix the upper and the lower limit of the Naga rule and show beyond doubt that the Nagas were Pallavas and the Pallavas were Nagas. The Tamil Classic, *Perumpanarrupadai* which attributes to the Cola king a misalliance with a Naga lady, Pilivalai, resulting in the birth of Ilanthiraiyan, the first Pallava must be taken to record these early Naga-Pallava connections with South East Asia. It is a fact that the Pallavas were Persians.<sup>63</sup>

The Pallava progress in Cambodia is spotlighted by two inscriptions (the earliest to be discovered) from that region. One of them refers to a king called Gunavarman establishing on earth "the impress of the feet of Bhagawan" in the presence of learned Brahmanas and making various donations in support of this faith. These records were discovered by Coedes in 1931 and he has fixed their date to the middle of the V century A.D. These doubtless indicate a new expansion in Cambodia during the period. Right enough, the Chinese annals bring in the story of the arrival of a second Kaundiniya in Cambodia at this time. "Kaundiniya a Brahman from Indian heard a supernatural voice calling to him 'you must go and reign in Funana'". "Kaundiniya", the account continues, "rejoiced in his heart and reached a country which was to the south of Funana: When the people of Funan heard of him the whole kingdom was stirred with joy and they came to him and chose him king". The Pallavas of Sivaskandavarman line of Kanchi replace the Pallava rulers of Funan descendants of Kharavelas.

These things must have happened when Skandavarman II was ruling in Kanchipura 400-426 A.D. The Rayakota plates of the period refer to the doner of the grant as "equal to Agastya who drank the ocean". May this not refer to the Pallava conquest of this period across the ocean? The Pattamangalam plates of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla say that he was the son of Hiranvavarman and came to the throne when he was quite young and the Kasakudi plate tell us that he belonged to the branch of

63. See Macdonnel and Keith: *Vedic India* 504-505, 521-22: Persians were known in India as Prsava and the Puranas call them as Pahlavas.



Bhimavarman (the younger brother of Simhavishnu of the main line).

Dr. T. V. Mahalingam following the descriptive labels found in the Vaikuntaperumal temple at Kanchipura says that the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla was chosen to rule in Kanchi from Cambodia "for purity of Pallava dynasty".<sup>64</sup> It therefore appears certain that in Simhavishnu's time (575-600 A.D.) his brother Bhimavarman had gone to Cambodia thus establishing the truth of the statement that the Pallavas had extended their sway to Cambodia in the middle of the 5th century A.D. The concluding part of the Vayalur record of Narasimhavarman Pallavamalla is very enlightening, when it says that the kingdom of the Pallavas extended beyond the seas covering thousands of islands. Surprisingly enough the Chinese sources referring to this period say that the king Narasimha Pottavarman (Narasimhavarman II) sent an embassy to China to inform the Chinese emperor of his intention to go to war against the Arabs (To-che) and the Tibetans (T'on-Pe) and request him to name his army, which was accordingly named as "The army which cherished virtue".<sup>65</sup> What is more revealing is the fact that the descriptive labels at Kanchipuram suggest the coronation of Pallavamalla with an elephant scalp reminding one of Kharavela's victory over Demetrius whose head-gear was the elephant.

Dr. B. Ch. Chabra in his well-known book *Expansion of Indo-Aryan culture during Pallava rules* states that it is quite possible that Pallavas had extended their sway over southeast Asia during this period.

It is a point to be noted that among the artistic specimens at Mahabalipuram the elephant and the lion figure most prominently reminding us of the Pallava connection with Asoka. The figure of lion is found both in Mahabalipuram and Cambodia (Anchor vat

64. T. V. Mahalingam, *Kanchipuram, its early History*, (Sir William Meyer Endowment Lecture, 1965).

65. "Pallava Rajasimha and South-East Asia," *Journal of Madras University*, XXXII, No. 2, Sec. A.

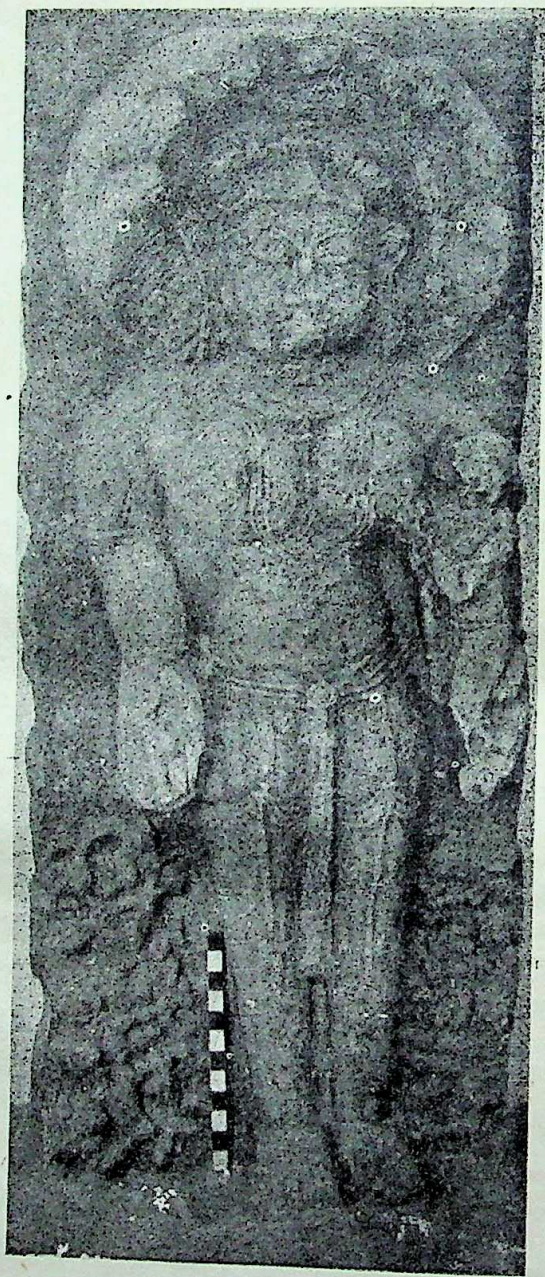


temples). Great questions on the origin of the Pallavas are thus solved. There is little doubt that they were of Persian extraction and were thus imbued with a great architectural skill. What is attempted to point out here is that they were also descendants of Asoka.



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Nagini from Papet Dist., Sagar (M.P.)



## A Note on a Nāginī Image

BY

R. N. MISRA

The polycepholous male and female images occur abundantly in the whole range of ancient Indian art. The proper identification of such images with specific deities, particularly in the case of such images of the mediaeval times, is a difficult problem. The images of this type, having several Nāga-hoods, a child, and the right hand in the *abhaya mudra* are known from different parts of India, and are more recurrent in the Eastern India.

The Archaeological Museum of the University of Saugar has one two-armed image of a Nāginī having a canopy of seven-hoods over her head. This image was recovered from Papet in the Sagar district of Madhya Pradesh. The Nāginī has her right hand in the *varada mudrā*, while in her left hand she holds a child touching her left breast. The Nāginī wears Kuṇḍalas, a flat *grāiveyaka*, torque, a three-stringed necklace *aṅgas* and wristlets, on the upper part of her body. Her torso has a four-stringed *mekhalā* with beaded festoons, neatly arranged, hanging downwards. She wears anklets also.

On the lower part of the stele, there are two rows of sitting-figures, four to the Nāginī's left and five to her right, amongst the latter, the last figure represents Gaṇeśa. These figures are all badly corroded, but enough remains of their physiognomy to show that they are all male figures (Pl.).

The main image is archaic in style, it has no flowing contours and is characterised by stiffness as far as the depiction of the physical volume is concerned. The other subsidiary figures have also been depicted in a stereotyped manner. The only exception to this scheme of depiction is the figure of child, which unfortunately is badly mutilated.

The specific identity of this image is difficult to establish in view of the absence of any inscription on it. Moreover, such



images have been found elsewhere also, and remain largely unidentified. Sircar, who reported from eastern India, similar polycephalous female figures accompanied with a child in her lap, and lion as her mount sometimes, suggested their association with the 'primitive mother-goddess'.<sup>1</sup> Sircar also said that such images came to acquire the name Manasā, in Bengal.<sup>2</sup>

The features of the image quoted in this paper, make it possible to tentatively identify it with Manasā. She has her right arm in the *varada mudrā*, has a child and the seven serpent-hoods. All these occur in the *dhyānas*<sup>3</sup> concerning Manasā in Bengal and Bihar. The myth and legend concerning Manasā have been elaborately treated by Maity<sup>4</sup> and for a detailed study of the cult, the reader is referred to that book.

As regards the child and the other figures on the stele, it seems the child may be Āstikā, the son of Manasā. The other figures cannot be the Matrikās, for they are male figures. It is likely they represent the *ashtavasus*. The presence of Gaṇeśa may indicate that the image had something to do with keeping the troubles at bay. In any case, the image offers an important evidence of the prevalence of Nāga cult in the regions of Madhya Pradesh. Although several images of the Jain Yakshini Padmāvatī, are known from Mādhyā Pradesh region, eg. Tripuri, Sohagpur, Khajuraho, etc., this image certainly has no Jaina connections and belongs to beautiful Sitā, whom the demon Rāvana had stolen away from the different parts of Madhya Pradesh.<sup>5</sup>

1. Sircar, D. C., *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVII, pp. 138-9 cf. Maity P. K., *Historical studies in the Cult of Goddess Manasa* (Calcutta, 66), p 238.

2. Sircar, *op.cit.*

3. Maity, P. K., *op.cit.*, pp. 209 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 77 ff.

5. One such image is known from Gobra, (on the Sagar-Jabalpur road), it has all the characteristics of the image discussed here, except the subsidiary figures. Stylistically it belongs to the late mediaeval period.



## Vijayanagara — The “City of Victory”

BY

WALTER M. SPINK

“Then a panic seized the city. The truth became at last apparent. This was not a defeat merely, it was a cataclysm.... The third day saw the beginning of the end. The victorious (Muslims) had halted on the field of battle for rest and refreshment, but now they had reached the capital, and from that time forward for a space of five months Vijayanagara knew no rest. The enemy had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly. They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins to mark the spot where once the stately buildings stood.....They broke up the pavilions standing on the huge platform from which the kings used to watch the festivals, and overthrew all the carved work. They lit huge fires in the magnificently decorated (Vithala temple)....and smashed its exquisite stone sculptures. With fire and sword, with crowbars and axes, they carried on day after day their work of destruction. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged and reduced to ruin....”<sup>1</sup>

The history which has left in its wake upon the banks of the Tungabhadra the slumbering village of Hampi — all that remains of the magnificent Vijayanagar — is a history where remarkably enlightened actions mingled disastrously with the blindness which so often accompanies the achievements of power. The destruction wrought upon “that great, that mighty city, and upon the lords of the earth who lived deliciously with her” can perhaps, at the end, be ascribed to the pride of its people and of its kings, who had raised it with its temples and its palatial towers, to such a place of pre-eminence in southern India during the 14th to 16th

1. Sewell, Robert, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagara)*, London, 1900, pp. 206-208 *passim*, following various accounts, especially Ferishta and De Couto.



centuries. Although the lower half of India's sub-continent was a land expansive and rich enough to support all who could harvest the riches of its fields and of its surrounding seas, its great rulers—Rājas and Sultans alike—were not able to trust, to understand, or to get along with each other.

The chief antagonists in the battle for political and personal supremacy were the Hindus on the one hand and the Muslims on the other. And meanwhile the forces of the West—in this particular case the Portuguese—stirred (for at least were unwilling to smooth) the troubled waves of consuming unrest which ultimately swept away their visions too; for with the fall of Vijayanagara, the major source of the wealth which they acquired through trade was gone.

Perhaps there is a lesson to be learned from this; or perhaps not. Certainly the world which we shall be briefly exploring, if moved to slightly further fields, seems not too different today, either in East or West. However, we must observe rather than moralize; and our observations will encounter, fortunately, many magnificent remains and much of interest, not only in what was accomplished but in the men who accomplished it.

We might start our story in the late fifteenth century, when ancient Vijayanagara was at a precipitous moment in its history. At this moment the weakening first dynasty, which had been in power for a century and a half and had been responsible for laying the splendid foundations of the city, suffered great difficulties. The heirs-apparent, for a short time, were mere children and (sometimes aided by discreet poisonings) were peculiarly subject to dying. As the accounts say, with something of the ornamentation of the art of the time itself, "(they) had not long gathered the flowers of enjoyment from the garden of royalty before the cruel skies, proving their inconsistency, burned up the earth of (their) existence with the blasting wind of annihilation."<sup>2</sup> Thus in 1505 A.D. the empire fell into the hands of Viranarasimha, a usurping minister. However, this turned out for the

2. Ferishta (a Persian chronicler who resided at the court of the Shāh of Ahmadnagar, circa 1600), quoted in Sewell, p. 112.



best, for one of his descendants was the greatest of all Vijayanagara sovereigns, Krishnadevarāya, who ruled from 1509 to 1529 and expanded the city to the size and significance which we can still make out from the puzzle of its fragments today. One further generation and, with the massacre of the Hindus by the Muslims at Tālikōṭa in 1565 (with which we will end our story), Vijayanagara's doom was forever sealed; then flowers, instead of onrushing armies, invaded the fields which the soldiers and the merchants and the courts abandoned. But we shall come to that.

Let us go back in history first, to the far distant past, to discover at least some of the more mysterious reasons that this great city was clearly destined to rise upon the fertile banks of the Tungabhadra (or Pampā) river. (The latter name has become the word Hampi, the name of the present village which still exists at the site).

Few great centres of religious and/or political power in India become such by mere chance. Most, if we explore the ancient records, were the locations of epic events which forever hallowed them. For instance, one may wonder, seeing the startlingly thrown-up piles of gigantic boulders which surround the site—"hills which are the strangest ever seen" as one early traveller put it—, just how they came to be. Geologists have suggested these great heaps of monoliths, which happily provided a most convenient source of material for the walls and buildings of the city, were formed by a gradual breakup of the exposed granite hillocks in the region, due to the alternating action of the scorching sun and the torrential monsoon rains. However, the pious claim that they are the wasteheaps where the monkey-god Hanumān and his troops dumped the great building-blocks which were left over after they had built the rocky causeway with which they once connected the southern tip of India with Ceylon. It was across this remarkable construction, now largely washed away, that Hanumān and his monkey troops launched their invasion—in prehistoric times—of that island citadel. There they rescued the beautiful Sītā, whom the demon Rāvana had stolen away from the divine hero Rāma.

The future of Vijayanagara was connected in many other ways with these events which are recorded in the ancient epic, the



*Ramāyana*. All of these connections added to its sanctity. It was a spot much favoured by the gods. Rāma himself, along with Hanumān, visited the spot. His image is to be found in many of the remaining temples, one of the most important of which is dedicated specifically to him. The jewels of his bride Sītā, according to the same traditions, were hidden away for safe-keeping in a rude cave by the monkey chief Sugrīva. We have no trace of the jewels today, but the cave has remained an important point of worship. The pious can still point out, on the smooth expanse of the sloping rocks nearby, the traces left by the garments of the heroine. The fate of one of Rāma's adversaries, Vālī, was less fortunate. A huge pile of his cremated remains—a pile in which traces of bone and ash can still be found and which archaeologists might be tempted to identify as an ancient burning-ground—still exists in one of the nearby villages.

Partly because of these associations, the area around present day Hampi appears to have been a site of religious importance for many hundreds of years. But it is not until the early fourteenth century that its crucial position in the history of South India begins. Then it became the chief center of the famous Vijayanagara dynasty which, for well over two hundred years, fostered and preserved the traditions of Hindu culture in the face of the threatening tide of Muslim conquest.

Ironically and perhaps ominously, the foundation of the dynasty in 1336 begins with a breach in trust between Muslims and Hindus. The Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad-bin-Tughluq, in one of his raids into the region shortly before this time, had taken two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, the treasury officers of the local petty rāja, as prisoners and had transported them to Delhi. Probably out of expediency, they had embraced the Muslim faith and had gained the trust of the Delhi Sultan. Thus when the Delhi Sultan had trouble controlling the far distant Hampi region, he dispatched them there to act as his viceroys.

However, no sooner had Harihara and Bukka arrived back in their homeland than they renounced Islam and their pledge of obligation to the Sultan. They espoused the Hindu faith again and set up their own independent kingdom. To better protect their power—which was destined to grow so vigorously—they immediately started building the present city and improving the rich land on



the south bank of the Tungabhadra, opposite the older fortress of Anegondi on other shore. In their endeavours they were aided by the great Hindu sage, Vidyāranya, who with them must be counted as one of the true founders of the Vijayanagara empire, being renowned for his political astuteness. Furthermore, being much favoured by the gods, he received a sizable rain of golden coins from the sky at the very time when funds were most needed. Vidyāranya fully intended to establish the dynasty for the fullness of eternity itself, and to ensure this he arranged that the foundation stone of the new city be laid at an absolutely auspicious moment, which he would announce by a blast of a sacred conch shell. But the Lord Shiva, for reasons not entirely clear, frustrated these plans by giving a false signal. Therefore the cornerstone was laid too soon and as a consequence the city was doomed to a much briefer span of glory.

Nonetheless with the help of the gods, the new dynasty started on a course of grand prosperity. Shortly after 1336, largely untroubled by the Muslim Sultanates who were occupied with their own disputes to the north, Harihara, the first king, and his immediate successors built the great stone bridge across the wide river and many of the fortification-walls of cyclopean construction, traces of which can still be seen today. In the regions to the west, citadels such as that at the old Chalukyan site of Badāmi came under Vijayanagara's control and were subsequently strengthened. The lands of the Hoysalas, filled with their fabulously carved temples, were also brought under control; and of course the art and culture of such regions had their effect upon Vijayanagara's developments. By the end of the fourteenth century, although both Harihara and Bukka had by then expired, the Sultanate of Madura also fell to the rising power. With this latter victory, the whole of the southern part of India was in the Vijayanagara dynasty's firm control. The region soon became a strong political unit, preserving the sacred Hindu traditions throughout the fifteenth century, even though the power of the Bahmani Sultans to the north was a constant—but partly because of this a unifying—spectre on the horizon.

The first Vijayanagara dynasty, as we have mentioned, did indeed weaken by the end of the fifteenth century and ultimately fell, but this was due to internal rather than external problems.



In any case, out of the turbulence of usurpation and intrigue, as often happens in history, a transcendent leader ultimately emerged. This was the king Krishnadevarāya, with whose interests and exploits, during the period 1509 to 1529 we must now be concerned. Much of what remains at Hampi today still is a characteristically dynamic reflection on his reign.

The truth is Krishnadevarāya nearly did not succeed to the throne. Step-mothers are, whether their reputation is justified or not, notoriously difficult, and Krishnadevarāya's had no desire to see her step-son inherit the throne. Therefore she prevailed upon her husband, the dying king Viranarasimha, to have Krishnadevarāya blinded. However, through the wise intercession of a minister, who saw in the young prince the hope of the kingdom's future, two goat's eyes were instead presented to the expiring king. Thus the king died happy, sure that his promise to his wife had been fulfilled, and Krishnadevarāya fortuitously lived—filled with vision—to inherit the throne.

Now almost immediately another troublesome woman entered the scene. This was Krishnadevarāya's chosen bride—as beautiful as the goddess Uma—who was disturbed by rumours that her new husband might not actually be of pure brahman blood and, rather than risk pollution by his touch, decided to dispatch him to an undeserved reward upon his wedding night. In simplest terms, she planned to murder him in bed. However again the wise minister, so the legend goes, affected a ruse. He prepared an image in the exact likeness of Krishnadevarāya and filled it up with sweet coloured water. When the concerned bride took her golden dagger and plunged it into the object of her scorn the apparent blood which spurted upon to her lips tasted as delicious as honey. Immediately and in much shame and anguish she repented her act, thinking she had killed a bridegroom of unearthly perfection. In such a mood, she was quite ready to listen to the arguments of the minister, who had hidden himself beneath the bed, and who was able to convince her that Krishnadevarāya was indeed of proper caste and character.<sup>3</sup>

3. For the above legends regarding Krishnadevarāya's marriage, see Balasundaram, A. K., *Relics of the Vijayanagar Glory, Anantapur*, 1948 (revised edition), pp. 13-18, notes 5-7.



## VIJAYANAGARA—THE CITY OF VICTORY 129

These qualities, which the minister proclaimed, were indeed soon to show themselves. Domingo Paes, who visited Vijayanagara along with a large delegation from the Portuguese trading port of Goa in western India, in a report dated about 1520, proclaimed that Krishnadevarāya "is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition....a man of much justice,...and gallant and perfect in all things."<sup>4</sup>

This was a time of peace. Krishnadevarāya, with great military acumen, divine aid, and good luck, had not only beaten back his foes to the north but had struck such terror into their hearts that they never attempted to attack his kingdom again while he reigned. Thus there was time for consolidation, for many land improvements, for the building of temples, administrative buildings and fortifications, and for elaborate ceremonials, all of which Paes and Nuniz, another Portuguese visitor, describe in detail in their accounts.

They speak with particular awe and envy—the passions of travellers far away from home—of the great entourage of wives and of less exalted female attendants who surrounded the king, declaring by their very presence (as was important in India in those days) his power and his magnificent prerogatives. The women whom the visitors saw were adorned as richly as possible with "many jewels...., rubies and diamonds and pearls and seed-pearls."<sup>5</sup> Some, according to Nuniz, were "so richly bedecked with gold and precious stones that they are hardly able to move."<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that, as in the nearly contemporary Shah of Malwa's harem, of which pictorial records remain, these women performed a host of varied and surprising tasks. Paes says that among Krishnadevarāya's entourage of 12,000 ladies, "there are women who handle sword and shield, and others who wrestle, and others who blow trumpets and...other instruments."<sup>7</sup> So they were not merely a luxury.

4. Domingos Paes' narrative written probably 1520-22, quoted in Sewell, p. 247.

5. *Ibid.*, 248.

6. Fernão Nuniz' chronicle written probably 1535-1537, quoted in Sewell, p. 378.

7. Paes, quoted in Sewell, pp. 248-249.



We are not certain today just where all these ladies of the court were housed, but one large courtyard close to the king's palace is popularly known as the Zanāna enclosure. Its walls, which do not seem to be fortifications, may have been for purposes modest rather than military. Its fine towers, some scholars have suggested, may have been built so that the ladies of the court could watch, still in isolation, ceremonies on the grounds below. The remains of a large structure—the so-called Queen's Palace—is also in the enclosure. But the finest structure of all is the Lotus Mahal. Once fully decorated, painted, and covered with highly polished plaster, it had shutters on its many windows, a fact which could strengthen the assumption that the building itself and the enclosures around it once did indeed form part of the women's compound.

It is perhaps not surprising, considering such an excess of wives, that the king was much concerned to keep himself in good condition. Chroniclers marvel at the vigour with which he did calisthenics every day, lifting "great weights made of earthenware .... wrestling .... and galloping about the plain in one direction and another .... before daybreak."<sup>8</sup>

After such daily exercise, it was Krishnadevarāya's custom to go "to a building made in the shape of a porch without walls" which had many pillars hung with cloths .... In such a building" we read, "he despatches his work with those men who bear office in his kingdom .... (They) make their (obeisance) to him do not speak one to another, nor do they chew betel before him, but they .... cast their eyes to the ground; and if the king desires to speak to any one it is done through a second person .... "<sup>9</sup>

One can sense from this that the king, although renowned for his wisdom and tolerance, demanded the utmost respect. This was, of course the convention of the day. Like Louis the Fourteenth, with whose understanding of politics and psychology his own is easily compared, Krishnadevarāya established himself and his capital as a kind of symbolic cosmic center, from which

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 250.



all benefit derived, and from which the growth of action and of empire should necessarily and inevitably have its source. His vanity—for instance he never wore the same garment more than once—was the vanity of station and not of person. In the same way, coldly and rationally, he could be as ferociously cruel as the divine man-lion Narasimha whom he worshipped. "Nobles who become traitors" say the chroniclers, "are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly; .... and when the King so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants, and they tear him in pieces."<sup>10</sup> "The people are so subject to him that if you told a man on the part of the King that he must stand .... holding a stone on his back all day .... he would do it."<sup>11</sup>

In the same way, the King assured his people of impressive ceremonials. The greatest each year took place over the course of nine days and was accompanied by the sacrifice of 250 buffaloes and 4500 goats.<sup>12</sup> Such a great festival of course drew and in fact demanded representation from all of the important nobles of the domain. Therefore it is not surprising to read that during nine days the king arranged to be paid all of the vast rents due from these nobles who in turn of course drew such revenues from the taxation of the people under their immediate control. The richness of the empire—which hardly extended down to the common man—was based on this system of taxation. The pain of such payments was at least lessened, however, by the splendours of the occasion. Dancing, athletic matches, fireworks, music, and pompous displays of military preparedness were combined with the festivities surrounding the deities involving innumerable lights placed upon the walls and buildings and battlements. At the centre of it all of course, was the king himself, riding in splendid processions through the streets, or seated in state upon a magnificent throne, now unfortunately lost as part of the loot of a later war.

A lingering reminiscence of such festivals can be seen even today in the so-called car-festivals which take place annually in

10. Nuniz, quoted in Sewell, pp. 383-384.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 384.

12. Paes, quoted in Sewell, pp. 274-275.



many of the pilgrimage centres of southern India, often to celebrate the marriage of the chief god and goddess of the locality. At this time the idols are taken from the temple, placed in specially constructed chariots, and transported through the city's major thoroughfare amid great rejoicing. The frames of two such chariots, without their more impermanent superstructures, can still be seen in the little town of Hampi today, in the once flourishing old bazaar area, which each spring becomes alive again, when thousands of people gather for the annual car-festival. For the rest of the year the old bazaar is quiet, and its ancient glory gone, although in the 16th-century accounts we read that goods from all over the world were then available in it. Clumsy modern structures have been built as living quarters among the remnants of the ancient monuments which line its streets.

A surprising and very beautiful reproduction of such a ceremonial chariot, carved from wonderfully close-fitting stone sections, can still be found at Hampi. It calls to mind the gigantic chariot-temple of Surya at Konarak in Orissa. For centuries the pious turned the lotiform stone wheels of the Hampi chariot, as a meritorious gesture, so that now the granite axles have nearly been ground away. Of course this particular chariot—which once had a brick and stucco superstructure—was never actually used in procession. It seems to have been created instead to house the sun-bird, Garuda, upon whom the great god Vishnu rides the skies. Its presence in this particular spot is due to the fact that the adjacent temple is actually dedicated to Vishnu, in his aspect as Vithala or Vithoba.

Krishnadevarāya himself began the Vithala temple in 1513 and endowed it with villages for its support while inscriptions prove that his two chief wives built the gateways and made offerings of golden vessels to the deity in its shrine. Its superstructure of brick and stucco is now gone but was probably not finished in any case, so extensive was the undertaking.

The Vithala temple, with its still-towering gates, its elaborate main section, and the splendid Kalyāna (or marriage) shrine adjacent to it gives a splendid impression of the almost overweening exuberance of the Vijayanagara style of temple architecture.



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Perhaps the most characteristic hallmarks of the style are the ingeniously treated pillar types. Sometimes they are cut away into delicate colonnettes supported on animal forms, and supporting the broad overhanging stone caves. More often they are urged into symbols of vigour and even violence, fitting architectural adjectives with which to describe the expansiveness and the proud and aggressive psychology which underlay Vijayanagara's rise to a place of pre-eminence in the subcontinent in the 15th and 16th centuries. The stories of the gods are not forgotten in the sculptures with which the architecture is laden. In one of the typical (although now ruined) multipillared halls within the extensive shrine complex, we see portions of the legend of the god Krishna, with his mother churning the butter which this famous child-god steals, and with which, in delight, he dances away.

The upper portions of such temples tend to be in bad condition today. Those which had superstructures of wood were long since burned by Muslim invaders, while those which were made of brick and stucco are gradually eroding away, their once brilliantly painted gods and goddesses now suffering the despair of neglect.

The Hazāra Rāma temple is somewhat simpler and may have been started by some of Krishnadevarāya's predecessors, although it is fairly certain that he made additions to it. It, too, its writhing zoomorphic forms filled with the optimistic tensions of the period, typifies the style, while its many sculptured friezes depicting the legends of Rāma recall the auspicious associations which surround the site.

A still earlier temple, considered the most sacred of all, is the Virūpāksha. But here again it did not assume its present form until the period of Krishnadevarāya. His most important addition was that of the Ranga-mandapa or Painted Hall, where paintings of the type which once decorated most of the temples of the city are beautifully preserved. The temple is dedicated to the god Shiva, for the people of the day honoured many deities—indeed there was even a flourishing Jain community and many Jain temples in the city. On the ceiling, along with various other gods, Shiva is shown in various guises. He forges forth, for instance, in his divine chariot, accompanied by his serpents, in his



conquest of three great fortresses; or he is seated in the ascetic oblivion of yogic meditation, while the god of love attempts to disturb him with his flower arrows.

If Krishnadevarāya lavished his attention on the gods, such actions were in part purposeful. They made it clear to the whole subcontinent that he, as the head of a great dynasty, was the preserver of the Hindu tradition, at a time when much of the rest of India was under the yoke of Muslim rule. Like the elephant-god, Ganesh, whose huge presence is installed in a still-preserved pavilion overlooking the ruins of Hampi, Krishnadevarāya proclaimed himself the auspicious root of all good things and the remover of all obstacles. Startling images, such as the gigantic man-lion (Narasimha) incarnation of the god Vishnu carved from one great block of rock, were similarly calculated to awe the beholder not only of the obvious power of the gods but of the king who was so intimately associated with them. Similarly, the huge stone balance where he is known to have had himself weighed against gold on a number of occasions, in the Tulūpurushapradāna ceremony, stood (as it still stands today) as a constant reminder of the king's generosity.<sup>13</sup>

Once we understand Krishnadevarāya's piety we can better realize why, not only at Vijayanagara but throughout the whole of the south, the monumental gates which define the expanding temple precincts are often known as Rāyagopurams, for we find that many were built at the time of Krishnadevarāya's rule or during the rule of his immediate successors. And even when, in 1565, the power of his progeny was broken at the battle of Tālikota and the rule of the Hindu sovereigns was compressed into a much smaller area of the south, the influence of the Vijayanagara style continues to be asserted in monuments of later years, such as the great Minākshi temple at Madura.

Krishnadevarāya was intensely practical as well as pious. The time in which he lived was a period when great cities literally could not prosper without being fortified, nor could a monarch rule without an army waiting in readiness for the slightest threat

13. Raghavacharlu, K., "Krishna Raya, The Man", in *Vijayanagara Sescentenary Commemoration Volume*, Dharwar, 1936, p. 189 (basing his statements on original sources, notably *Rāyavāchakamu* and *Pārljātaharana*).



of—or desire to—attack. This explains the presence of Krishnadevarāya's so-called elephant stables—we are not actually sure of their original function—and other such structures which were almost certainly built for military purposes. Vijayanagara's military expenditure were certainly consistent with the portions allotted for the military in the national budgets of "enlightened" countries today; according to chroniclers, when Krishnadevarāya went into the great battle of Raichur, he was able to summon up and to supply nearly one million troops. He even had had the acumen to corner much of the supply of horses so important in the chaos of battle; these he received largely through the port of Goa, with which (largely for this reason) he was intent on maintaining good relations and a flourishing trade. "Make the merchants of distant foreign countries who import elephants and good horses attached to yourself by providing them with villages and decent dwellings in the city, by affording them daily audience, presents and allowing decent profits. Then those articles will never go to your enemies." So suggests the *Āmuktamālyada*, and Krishnadevarāya followed its advice.<sup>14</sup>

At his capital, in a practical manner, Krishnadevarāya, continuing work started by his predecessors, linked the strong surrounding hills with a series of fortified walls. There were perhaps once as many as seven concentric lines of fortifications, with all the necessary gates and battlements. Nor did the king fail to consider the need for a good supply of water during times of siege, building a series of reservoirs ingenious stone aqueducts, and water towers as well as great public and royal baths. Needless to say these endeavours had great benefits for the agriculture of the region, which still benefits from them today, for all of the fact that much of the elaborate irrigation system has fallen into disrepair.

Such technological advances were not achieved without difficulties, even though the monarch could summon up great hoards

14. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto IV, v. 258, quoted in Heras, H., and V. K. Bhandarkar "Vijayanagara Empire: A Synthesis of South Indian Culture"; in *Vijayanagara Volume*.



of workmen at his bidding. In the construction of one dam, for instance, we are told that "there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men (at work), looking like ants, so that you could not see the ground on which they walked."<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless the king ran into trouble, for the dam burst two or three times. Consulting the priests, who in turn consulted the gods, he discovered that the latter were displeased and desired a sacrifice. "As soon as the king heard this", we read, "he forthwith commanded that at the gate of the (temple) the heads of sixty men should be cut off, and of certain horses and buffaloes, which was at once done."<sup>16</sup>

Even though the Muslim sultans to the north were involved in fighting among themselves—which they seemed always willing to do—during the first part of Krishnadevarāya's reign, and even though individual Muslims were allowed to live in peace throughout Krishnadevarāya's domains, the enmity between the Muslim dynasties to the north and the Vijayanagara Hindus was of such longstanding that each side cherished its hatred. The Hindus could hardly forget how in the previous century the sultanate forces had carried out a terrible massacre in their domains and had celebrated the death of every new group of 20,000 Hindus with a special feast; nor could the Muslims tolerate the scornful pride of the great Vijayanagara power. The swelling boil of rivalry finally came to a head when Krishnadevarāya, at the height of his power, laid siege to the important citadel of Raichur, just to the north of his empire's borders, in 1520. He advanced, according to one account, with an army of 35,000 horses, 733,000 foot-soldiers, and 586 great war elephants upon whose swinging trunks long scythes had been affixed. 12,000 watercarriers alone, so necessary on the parched plains, accompanied the troops, along with at least 20,000 courtesans.<sup>17</sup> The soldiers were almost blindly devoted to their king, who, following the custom of the day, proceeded near the front of his troops. His courage in battle was almost legendary, as was his fury; he would, it is said, personally slaughter any defectors. But his compassion was also great; he would personally scout the field for the wounded and make arrangements for their proper care.

<sup>15</sup> Paes, quoted in Sewell, p. 245.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>17</sup> Faria y Souza, probably following Nuniz; quoted in Sewell, p. 145.



Despite the devotion of the soldiers to their ruler, the great battle of Raichur was almost lost, for the ranked artillery of the Bijapūr Shāh caused great disaster to the Hindus during the first engagement on the field. But Krishnadevarāya, facing almost certain death, rallied his troops, first sending back orders to his wives that they burn themselves by committing sati, as soon as they should receive news of his having been slain. Fortunately, for his wives such self-immolation (still common in that day) was not necessary; for the king won a glorious victory, ending in a ruthless sacking of the rich city and (according to some accounts) a widespread rape of its women, which the Muslims could never forgive.

When Krishnadevarāya and his troops had returned to their own capital, full of even greater pride, they were visited by an ambassador from 'Adil Shāh asking for the restoration of his ruined city. To this the proud Krishnadevarāya readily agreed saying, according to the accounts "that he would be content to restore everything to 'Adil Shāh according to his wish... provided 'Adil Shāh would come and kiss his foot."<sup>18</sup> That the Muslim sultan of Bijapūr could ever agree to submit to such an affront was absolutely unthinkable, as Krishnadevarāya must have known. It was the ultimate insult, not only to 'Adil Shāh but to the Muslim sultans in general; and it was probably a significant factor in causing them to finally put aside some of their own disputes and to form a loose but nonetheless effective coalition against increasingly intolerable Vijayanagara power to the south. One might indeed argue that this gratuitous insult or at least the attitude which it reveals ultimately spelled the doom of Vijayanagara, although Krishnadevarāya himself and his contemporaries would escape the Muslim sword. That fate would not come for another generation, but come it would.

It came, in fact at the crucial battle of Talikota in 1565. By then a regent named Rāmarāya, acting for an ineffectual descendant of Krishnadevarāya, was the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagara. Rāmarāya was actually an ingenious and courageous ruler who cleverly entered into various alliances with certain of the Deccani sultans, playing the power of one off against the other. But his soldiers, reflecting his own excessive arrogance

<sup>18</sup> Nuniz, quoted in Sewall, p. 352.



and indiscretion, deepened the breach with their erstwhile Muslim allies, during the capture of some of the northern strongholds by heedlessly ravishing the Muslim women, brutally razing the towns, and even keeping their horses in the sacred Muslim mosques. Rāmarāya himself only magnified such blunders. "Looking on the (Muslim) Sultan as of little consequence" says the chronicler Ferishta, "he refused proper honours to their ambassadors. When he admitted them to his presence he did not suffer them to sit, and treated them with the most contemptuous reserve and haughtiness."<sup>19</sup> Even if we admit that such Muslim accounts exaggerate, it seems clear that Rāmarāya was compounding the sins of pride of Krishnadevarāya. Meanwhile his people, seemingly secure in their rich and stable kingdom, sensed nothing of the coming deluge of Muslim retribution. The lack of personal tact and political wisdom, of course, should not be laid solely at the Hindu door. For instance, when one of the Muslim ambassadors called for water to wash his right hand after Rāmarāya had kissed it in a conventional greeting, it could hardly have improved the fragile relationships!

By 1564, the Muslim sultans had clearly decided that their hatred of the Vijayanagara Hindus was stronger than their hatred of each other, and they formed what they called "a general league of the faithful" against Rāmarāya. Early the following year, massing their forces, they advanced southward, finally halting near the fortress of Tālikota, slightly north of the Vijayanagara border. Rāmarāya, commanding his troops, although by now he was ninety-six years of age, advanced in pride and confidence to meet them.<sup>20</sup> He attacked the Muslim flanks; but it went far from well, and many of his soldiers were killed. Therefore, to encourage his troops, for by now the Hindu confidence was shaken, he had himself lifted on to a "rich throne set with jewels, under a canopy of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and adorned with fringes of pearls, from whence he distributed money, gold, and jewels

19. Ferishta, quoted in Longhurst, A. H., *Hampi Ruins*, Calcutta 1925, p. 22.

20. See Basu, K. K. "The Battle of Talikota—Before and After (from Muslim Sources)" in *Vijayanagara Volume* (*op.cit.*), pp. 245-254 *passim*, (translated from *Busutin-us-Salatin* of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi who prefers the account of Rafiuddin Shirazi to Qassim Ferishta).



to those of his followers who acquitted themselves well."<sup>21</sup> Finally, remounting his litter, he ordered his vast forces to surge toward the crowd of 2000 Muslim archers on the field. But behind the archers were three lines of modern ordnance; there were heavy cannons in front, then smaller artillery; and behind those an array of light swivel guns. Coming in at close quarters, the Hindus were suddenly blasted with a murderous fusillade; for the heavy cannons of the Sultans had been loaded with bags of copper coins. 5000 Hindus fell in this disastrous barrage, and the Muslim troops surged into their shattered ranks. At this point, we read, one of the enemy's armed elephants, "wild with the excitement of battle, dashed forward towards him, and the litter-bearers let fall their precious burden in terror at the animal's approach. Before he had time to recover himself and mount a horse, a body of the (Muslim forces) was upon him, and he was seized and taken prisoner."<sup>22</sup>

Rāmarāya was immediately conducted to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, one of the chiefs of the Muslim alliance. The Sultan, only too glad to avenge an old affront, immediately ordered that the Hindu sovereign be decapitated, and that his head be elevated on a long spear, so that it could be visible to the Hindu troops, now already in panic. At this they broke rank and fled. "They were pursued", according to one account, "with such successful slaughter that the river which ran near the field was dyed red with their blood. It is computed on the best authorities that above 100,000 (soldiers) were slain in fight and during the pursuit."<sup>23</sup> "The whole land for miles together" says the Busutin-us-Salatin, following the narrative of Rafiuddin Shirazi, "became red as scarlet by the blood of the slain."<sup>24</sup>

The Hindus dashed back to their capital where the rout was completed; for with no effective leadership, little attempt was made to defend the city even though, as we have seen, it was strongly fortified. "The plunder" we read, "was so great that every private man in the allied (Muslim) army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses, and slaves; as the sultans

21. Ferishta, quoted in Sewell, p. 204.

22. Sewell, p. 204-205, following Ferishta's account.

23. Ferishta, quoted in Sewell, p. 205.

24. See Basu, K. K., p. 253.



left every person in possession of what he had acquired, only taking elephants for their own use."<sup>25</sup>

The hatred of the Deccan Muslims for the Vijayanagara Hindus and for their heirs was a hatred which did not easily recede, and only contributed to that almost traditional distrust and misunderstanding which still exists between the Muslims and Hindus today.

In an account of 1829, by which time even the contracted remnants of the Vijayanagara dynasty had long since fallen to Mughal and Mahratta and English power, and the ancient city of its kings had long since suffered the desolation which its shattered walls and temples so poignantly record today, we read that "the real head of (Rāmarāya), annually covered with oil and red pigment, has been exhibited to the pious (Muslims) of Ahmadnuggur, on the anniversary of the battle (of Tālikota) for the last 250 years, by the descendants of the executioner, in whose hands it has remained till the present period."<sup>26</sup>

At this same time—although one trusts it is no longer there today—a stone-carved version of Rāmarāya's head was to be seen in the old Muslim stronghold of Bijapūr, serving as the opening of one of the sewers within the town.<sup>27</sup>

Such is—and yet perhaps need not be—the fate of kings. And such, for who in India can forget the battle of Tālikota, can be the fate of cities, even those of the power and importance of Vijayanagara—the "City of Victory."

"....The truth became at last apparent. This was not a defeat merely, it was a cataclysm.... They slaughtered the people without mercy; broke down the temples and palaces; and wreaked such savage vengeance on the abode of the kings, that, with the exception of a few great stone-built temples and walls, nothing now remains but a heap of ruins....where once the stately buildings stood. Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city: teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruin...."<sup>28</sup>

25. Ferishta, quoted in Sewell, p. 205.

26. From an observation by Colonel Briggs, written in 1829, and quoted in Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 205-206, note 2.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Sewell, pp. 206-208, *passim*, following Ferishta and De Couto.



## Facts behind the Jaintia Rebellion, 1862-64

BY

H. K. BARPUJARI

The outbreak of the Syntengs or the Jayantias in the eastern frontier of British India following the great upheaval of 1857-58 posed a serious problem to the Government of India. The introduction of income-tax in early 1861, it was hitherto believed, was at the root of these uprisings. This was not an innovation; on the recommendation of W. J. Allen, Member Board of Revenue, in 1860 a house-tax was imposed on these mountaineers.<sup>1</sup> This was also stoutly opposed; Solomon, the *Tahsildar* was driven out and an outbreak followed, but the timely arrival of a regiment under Colonel Richardson, Officer Commanding at Cherrapunji, brought the situation under control.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of the income-tax in the following year confirmed the belief of these hillmen that the English were determined to fleece them. On 17 January 1862, the Syntengs numbering about six hundred made a surprise attack on the military guard at Jowai, burnt down the local Christian settlement and thereafter retired and stockaded their villages in the neighbourhood.<sup>3</sup> The protest against the tax soon developed into a war of liberation; the rebels openly demanded that 'they were to be exempted from taxation, their *Raja* was to be restored, troops and police withdrawn .....'<sup>4</sup>

The time was highly inopportune. Following the recommendation of Peel Commission, the strength of the 44th Native Infantry Battalion had in the meantime been considerably reduced, and what remained of the regiment was then scattered in a number

1. *Selection of Records*, Government of Bengal, Vol. XVII; Rowlatt to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 9 April 1862.

2. *Ibid.*, Showers to the Secretary, Government of Bengal; 15 April 1862.

3. *Ibid.*, Richardson to Deputy Assistant General; 21 January 1862.

4. *Ibid.*, Haughton to Secretary, Government of Bengal; camp Oomki, 4 January 1863.



of outlying detachments. On 25 January, E. A. Rowlatt, D. C. Khasi and Jaintia Hills, accompanied by a body of troops marched against the rebels, but the latter dispersed without offering any resistance.<sup>5</sup> The villages of Jowai, Amwai, Nurteng were occupied, stockades were demolished and granaries destroyed. A few villagers on the west came in, but those in the east, 'the leaders of the insurrection', remained as violent as ever.<sup>6</sup> Considering the situation rather serious, on 28 March, in supersession of the authority of the Commissioner of Assam, the Government of India placed Brigadier-General G. D. Showers of the Eastern Command in exclusive Civil and Military Administration of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.<sup>7</sup>

Already harassed by repeated incursions of the Nagas, the Garos and the Abors, the authorities in Calcutta wanted to avoid full-scale operation against the rebels; they were even inclined to remove the grievances which had occasioned the outbreak. Authentic information as to the causes or grievances, supposed or real were lacking. 'Numerous opinions have been formed and recorded, but mostly of conflicting nature and rest rather on rumour or hearsay than on that which alone can be regarded as a reliable foundation—the statement of the rebel themselves.'<sup>8</sup> Lieutenant Colonel J. C. Haughton, officiating Agent to the Governor-General, after collecting evidence from all available sources summarised the causes as follows:

'Taxation was introduced without the supervision which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation, and rumours of other taxes . . . which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise, such

5. *Ibid.*, Rowlatt to Hopkinson, 4 March 1862.

6. *Ibid.*, Showers to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 15 April 1862.

\* The territory was placed after its annexation under Major Lister, Political Agent K. & J. Hills. On the retirement of the latter in 1854, it was retransferred to the charge of the Commissioner of Assam and under his supervision. C. K. Hudson and later E. A. Rowlatt discharged the duties of the Deputy Commissioner.

7. *Ibid.*, Grey to Lushington, 28 March 1862.

8. Assam Commissioner, 1862; File No. 440, Secretary, Government of Bengal, on board 'Rotas', 8 September 1862.



might have resulted from the continued presence of an European officer.'<sup>9</sup>

Haughton believed that the people in general could pay the tax, for the incidence of taxation was not very high. But he himself admitted that the introduction of such a tax on a people who could furnish no accurate account of their income was unwise and inexpedient; 'the tax practically became one on property and not on income' and it was exacted from many who should have been exempted in the spirit of the Section 130 of the Income-tax Act.<sup>10</sup> Rumours of increased taxation were not only current in the hills, but 'imposts of one sort or another were, in fact, appearing like mushrooms'.<sup>11</sup> In 1860, judicial stamps were introduced and, before long, fisheries which were, hitherto, exempted brought under assessment. In the same year, on the suggestion of the Sadar Board the right to cut timber in certain areas were sold out to the highest bidder; inevitably, the privileges of the villagers of cutting timber, thatch, fuel, bamboo, etc. were stopped. Even petty holdings occupied by squatters in certain localities were taxed.<sup>12</sup> The total amount realised from all these sources were trivial; but introduction of too many taxes so closely one after another could not but produce irritation and resentment of a people who had never been subjected to such taxation.

'It appears doubtful', Brigadier Showers also remarks, 'whether the feelings of the people would have broken out into open violence unless they had been aggravated by acts of Local Authorities.'<sup>13</sup> Allegations of venality, oppression and corruption on the part of the minor officials at the Cherra Court, to which these hillmen had to resort to, was common. With few exceptions, they (Syntengs) did not know a word of the court language and all, as ignorant of laws, entirely dependent on and at the mercy of the

9. *Op. cit.*, Haughton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 July 1863.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*, Showers to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 15 April 1862.



native officials who did not hesitate to grow rich at their expense'.<sup>14</sup> The people used to say 'we can do nothing, every case is lost unless we give bribes'. Even Oodon, the *wotoi* or Jowai, complained that in order to ensure his office he had to pay Rs. 500 to the *muktear* of Inglis, son-in-law of the then Political Agent, a gold *mohur* to Solomon, the interpreter, and rupees fifteen to Rammohan, the treasurer.<sup>15</sup>

However conscientious and zealous the Deputy Commissioner might be, in the midst of his multitarious duties he could hardly afford to give personal attention to which these hillmen were accustomed hitherto. Rowlatt, the D.C., was so much preoccupied in the supervision of the Shillong-Gauhati road, which was then under construction, that he had little time to devote himself to the redress of their grievances.<sup>16</sup> On the otherhand he carried out certain measures which aggravated the situation. In 1860, soon after the outbreak, he partially disarmed the people by confiscating their shields and swords. To these heirlooms, the *syntengs* attached considerable importance; for these they required not only for their *pujas* and ceremonial occasions, but for protection in a country teemed with wild animals. They were greatly offended when they found that their swords were sold out or broken up while their shields burnt in their very presence. About this time, Rowlatt also issued a summary order asking the people of Jowai to burn their dead in future not on the old site near the outpost, but at a distance from the village and any infringement thereof would be severely dealt with.<sup>17</sup>

14. *Op. cit.*, Haughton to Secretary, Government of Bengal, 9 March; see Rev. Jons, T.; *A few hints on the origin and causes of the Jyntea rebellion*.

15. *Ibid.*, 'It is highest degree probable' Haughton also remarks, 'that the Bengali *Omlah* and *Muktear* would take advantage of such occasion to make money and would make the parties believe that their European superiors participated in the transaction.'

16. *Ibid.*, Haughton held that D.C. was mainly responsible for the outbreak. If he had been at his headquarters throughout or devoted more of his attention to the affairs of Jayantia when he thought it to be in a disturbed state no rebellion would have occurred.

17. *Ibid.*, It appears from official returns 588 shields, 475 swords, 14 guns and several spears were confiscated and destroyed.



In fact the location of the military outpost in the heart of the village was highly obnoxious to the people. They found that a large number of their women had been enticed to run away with the sepoys were allowed to remain so near to them.<sup>18</sup> No sooner was the outpost established a school also came up and the missionaries began making converts. The syntengs were told that they would soon have to give up their old *pujas* and must be Christians; that parents not sending their children to schools and any one worshipping or divining according to old usage would be fined.<sup>19</sup> That the rebels had animosities against the missionaries is borne out by the fact that the Christian village nearabout Jowai was burnt to the ground at the very commencement of the outbreak.

On the alleged guilt of the ex-Raja Rajendra Sing, it may be mentioned here, for the murder of two British subjects, in March 1835, the territory of Jayantia was incorporated into the British dominion. This was looked upon 'as an act of treachery' by the Syntengs.<sup>20</sup> It was not so much annexation as the manner of its implementation that embittered the feelings of these hillmen against the British. Major Lister, Political Agent, Khasi Hills, not only assumed charge of the territory but also seized personal effects of the Raja—elephants, guns, apparel not sparing even his cooking pots.<sup>21</sup> From his asylum at Sylhet, Rajendra Singh poured in representations one after another for a reconsideration of his case and restoration of his territory, but these bore no fruit.<sup>22</sup> To win good will of the British, on the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857, the chief volunteered his services with a contingent of 2500 to fight against the mutinous sepoys of northern India; this was not only rejected but the ex-Raja was kept under surveillance

18. *Ibid.*, Jones, T., *A few hints on the origin and causes of Jyntea rebellion.*

19. *Ibid.*, Showers to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 15 April 1862.

20. *Op. cit.*, Haughton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 July 1863.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Foreign Proceedings, Political*, 1836, 1 August, No. 110; 27 September, 1841, No. 118.



lest he might carry intrigues with anti-British elements in the hills.<sup>23</sup> Rowlett suspected that the ex-Raja had a secret hand in the outbreak. The fact—that a substantial section of the *syntergs* represented on the introduction of the house tax in 1860 that if they were to be taxed it might be through their own chief, and that the outbreak occurred soon after the petition was turned down—proved to some extent ex-Raja's complicity in the outbreak.<sup>24</sup>

It is, however, doubtful if the rebels were sincerely desirous of having the ex-Raja or his heirs; not infrequently they affronted the *Kuwar*s (heirs) and told them plainly that if they wanted a Raja it would be of their own choice.<sup>25</sup> The opposition of a number of subordinate chiefs, in fact, rendered the position of the ex-Raja so shaky that he had no alternative but to submit to the inevitable. On the otherhand the *dolois* and the *sardars* who had hitherto, exerted considerable influence in the State, could hardly reconcile themselves to the rule of the English who had not only annexed the territory without their consent but deprived them of the power and privileges which they enjoyed from ancient times.<sup>26</sup> They found their position greatly lowered in presence of a *daroga* in their midst to whom the aggrieved invariably lodged their complaints.<sup>27</sup> They were hard hit by recent taxation and what was the guarantee that further taxation would not follow. The *Raj* land which they held rent-free, it was rumoured, would

23. . *Foreign Proceedings, Political*, 1857; 13 November, Nos. 138-42. Allen to Young 21 August; see Raja of Jayanti to Secretary Government of Bengal, 16 September.

24. *Op. cit.*, Haughton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 July 1863.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

\*The territory was divided into nineteen *elakas* or divisions; of these, thirteen were under the authority of *dolois* and the rest managed by village heads called *sardars*. The Raja was a figurehead; the actual authority was exercised by the *dolois* of Jowai and Nurteng.

27. Allen, W. J., *The report on the Administration of the Cossya Jynteah Hill Territory* (1941 edition), paras 244 and 260.



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soon pass under the control of Government and brought under assessment.<sup>28</sup> Worst of all, like others, they were now entirely at the mercy of petty officials of the court without whose support they could not expect to hold office even though elected by their own people.<sup>29</sup> Without restoration of the former regime, though not of the ex-Raja, instinctively they felt there was no future for them. Raja Ram Singh of Cherra who acted as a mediator on behalf of the British reported the sentiment of the rebel chiefs as follows:

'I met at Mobookhon Ooking Nungba of Jowai, Ookma Lingdo.....Dolloyes of Shamphong and Nungjungi. About 500 or 600 attended the *Durbar*, Ooking Nungba who has been elected rebel *Lushkar* (headman) was the spokesman. He said that if the *Raj* was restored and the hills relinquished by Government, the rebels would make friends; but that they wished neither to see nor have anything to do with Government. He assigned as his reason for saying so that their *puja* had been interfered with. He referred also to Government having.....taken the guns and wealth belonging to the Raja of Jynteeahpore. Also that in Mr. Scott's time the Jynteeahs had made roads through their territory on the understanding that the country would not be annexed by Government."<sup>30</sup>

The *dolois* and the *sarders*, thus, took initiative in the movement with the avowed object of driving the hated *dykhai* (foreigners) from the hills. Brisk preparations they made for the war of liberation by collecting arms, erecting stockades, storing up grains and sending emissaries for aid even to Burma.<sup>31</sup> They

28. *Op. cit.*, Haughton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 July 1863.

29. *Ibid.*, Haughton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 4 February, 1863.

30. *Ibid.*, Eden to Morton, 9 October 1862; see statement made by Ramsing, Raja of Cherra, at Jowai.

31. *Op. cit.*, Haughton to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3 July, 1863.



sedulously instilled in the minds of the people that in the event of their defeat, the males would be doomed to perpetual slavery and the women consigned to the tender mercies of the soldiers. To the last they resolved to fight and in the event of failure they would quit the territory.



## Indian National Congress\* The Formative Years

STRUGGLE FOR UNITED FRONT

BY

P. N. CHOPRA

It will be interesting to recall that even in the first Congress there was some talk of representative government; Narendranath Sen of the *'Indian Mirror'* suggested that "a standing committee of the House of Commons would be good if we had our representatives in the House." As an alternative he proposed "there might be a small Parliament in India with many Indian members. Indian political bodies should be asked to name such members and also to have a voice in the formation of the existing executive councils".<sup>1</sup> The idea of boycott of British goods was at least hinted at in the first Congress by Girijabhushan Mookerjee who suggested "if goods were available in their own market, why should the poor go to a foreign country and pay a much high price for the imported goods."<sup>2</sup>

The proceedings of the first Congress, it may be added, were conducted in private and were, consequently, criticised by several papers including the *Bombay Samachar*.<sup>3</sup> However, this session left a deep mark on the political life of the country. The resolutions which were passed at the first Congress were widely circulated throughout the country. Public meetings and meetings of the existing associations were held where these resolutions were discussed and in most cases they were unanimously adopted.<sup>4</sup> The Bombay Correspondent of the *Times Weekly Edition*, how-

\* Part I was published in Vol. L, Part II of the Journal (pp. 389-414).

1. *Proceedings: First Indian National Congress Session 1880-85*, p. 36.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

3. *Report on Native Newspapers—Bombay and Berar*, January-June 1886, p. 7.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 77.



ever, referred to the absence of "Mahomedans of India" from the representative assembly and added: "They (Muslims) remained steadfast in their habitual separation. They certainly do, not yield to either Hindu or Parsee in their capacity for development, but they persistently refuse to act in common with the rest of the Indian subjects of the Queen Empress. Not only in their religion, but in their schools, and almost all their colleges and all their daily life they maintain an almost haughty reserve. The reason is not hard to find. They cannot forget that less than 2 centuries ago, they were the dominant race, while their present rivals in progress only counted as so many millions of tax-paying units who contributed each his mite to swell the glory of Islam. But inspite of the absence of the followers of the Prophet, there was a great representative meeting last week". K. T. Telang, however, refuted the Times Correspondent's remarks about the complete absence of Muslim representatives from the Congress, and mentioned the names of two leading Muslims—R. M. Sayani and A. M. Dharamsi.<sup>5</sup>

Mrs. Annie Besant thus commented on the first Congress:

"The first Congress dissolved, leaving a happy and inspiring memory of fine work done, and unity demonstrated. India had found her voice. India was realising herself as a Nation. Strange and menacing was the portent in the eyes of some, splendid and full of hope in the eyes of others. The rosy fingers of dawn-maidens had touched the Indian skies. When would her Sun of Freedom rise to irradiate the Motherland".<sup>6</sup>

The Congress made rapid progress and within a year of its existence became well-known throughout the country. It came to be looked upon even in those early days as an "institution which is destined to play a very important part in the political history of our country". *The Statesman* pointed out that the Congress "has been looked forward to with deep interest throughout the year".

As the date for the second Session to be held at Calcutta approached, the leading papers of the country put forth their

5 Extract from Appendix C and D of the official Congress Report, 1885.

6. Dutt, K. Iswara: *Congress Encyclopaedia*, Volume I, p. 15.



views on the burning problems of the day for consideration of the Congress. *The Kesari*, for example, while expressing satisfaction at the progress made by the Congress in its first year referred to the "misgivings expressed by some people last year about the chances of communities of different creeds and castes forming a united body", and suggested the appointment of a committee by the Congress consisting of representatives from the different Presidencies to prepare answers to the questions of the Public Service Commission after taking into consideration the peculiar circumstances of all the Provinces. These were to serve as guides to the witnesses who might appear before the Commission. *The Mahratta* of December 19, 1886 urged the Congress to "make it its first duty to impress upon the Government of India, the absolute necessity for the reform and expansion of the supreme and local Legislative Councils by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members and for that it should give some concrete suggestions. *The Express* while advising moderation by the Congress in its deliberations and demands wrote "the present native Congress has many important subjects to deal with and no true friend of India can, we think, in any just or right spirit, either ridicule or condemn the conviction of such a representative assembly".<sup>7</sup>

The second Congress met in the Town Hall in Calcutta with Dadabhai Naoroji as President and Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, "more a scholar than a politician",<sup>8</sup> as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Calcutta Congress was a bigger affair and the number of delegates also rose to 436.<sup>9</sup> A. C. Mazumdar in his *Indian National Evolution* and Andrews and Girija Mookerji in *The Rise and Growth of the Congress* wrongly put the number of delegates to 406 and 412 respectively. Badruddin, however, mentioned it as 440 in his presidential address at the Madras Session. The procedure adopted for the election of the delegates was interesting. According to the *Congress Report*, "any town any of whose inhabitants felt interested in the question, held a public

7. *Report of the Proceedings of the Indian National Congress (1886-91)*, p. 159.

8. Bannerjea, S. N.: *A Nation in Making*, p. 102.

9. *Proceedings of Indian National Congress (1886-91)*, p. 140.



meeting.....and thereat elected those men who were looked up as leaders. Again any association that deserved to be represented, called a general meeting, and thereat elected one or more of its leading members....Anyone who wanted to be represented could be represented but no one troubled about those who did not themselves come forward".

Surendranath was also won over to the Congress by Hume who, if we are to believe B. C. Pal,<sup>10</sup> had found it impossible to enlist the "sympathies and active co-operation of politically-minded and educated Bengalis if Surendranath was left out of the counsels of the Congress". That Surendranath Banerjea had fully aligned himself with the Congress is further corroborated by Austin Rattay in his article on the Indian National Congress which was published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* (Jan.-April. 1889). Excepting the Mohammedan Association of Bengal which kept aloof, all other parties joined hands to welcome the delegates.<sup>11</sup> "What was remarkable", writes Surendranath Banerjea "is the British Indian Association representing the landed interests of what I may call the conservative conscience of the community threw themselves heart and soul in the matter. Such enthusiasm this venerable body has never since displayed in the Congress cause".<sup>12</sup>

Commenting on the second Congress N. G. Chandavarkar, wrote in the Anglo-Maratha Weekly *Indu Prakash* thus: "The second National Congress of India has come and gone and it has been, by all who either witnessed it in Calcutta or watched its proceedings from elsewhere, declared a success. The general verdict seems to be that it passed off admirably well. The attempt of the Hon'ble Mr. Amir Ali and Nawab Abdul Latif Khan to keep the Mahomedans away from it threatened at first sight to make a success. Indeed when Mahomedan delegates arrived from other parts of India, they were got at and asked not to put in their appearance at the Congress." "The Hindus are ahead of us. We are lagging behind; we gain nothing by joining them."

10. Pal, B. C., *Memories of My Life and Time*, Vol. II, (1886-1900, p. 114.

11. "The Express", *Proceedings of Indian National Congress* (1886-91), p. 159.

12. Bannerjea, S. N., *op. cit.*, p. 101.



This was the plea urged for the conversion of our Mahomedan colleagues but to their credit be it said, like good men and true, they stood firmly by their cherished conviction that the best policy was to make common cause with the Hindus and Parsees. They regularly attended the meetings, watched the proceedings as closely as the other delegates; and in their speeches showed an amount of good-will and confidence which might well afford an example to others.<sup>12a</sup>

A Bombay delegate said: "This second Congress has far surpassed the first in point of strength and publicity. We at Bombay sat more as a private conference and shut out the public from witnessing our proceedings. Again, being the first of its kind, we were not so overpoweringly strong in numbers... the demonstrations which have accompanied its sitting here, have attracted greater notice and the work done has been of a more practical character. The first Congress formulated abstract principles of great pith and moment. The second Congress chalked out a line of action on those principles". It was at this session that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya made his appearance for the first time and made a lasting impression on the audience.

The meeting of the National Congress at Calcutta was noticed with great enthusiasm and was regarded, according to Official Reports, as a proof of the increasing political activity and consolidation of the people of India. Public meetings were held particularly in important towns of the Punjab and N.W.F.P. where the resolutions of the Calcutta Congress were discussed and passed.<sup>13</sup>

Dufferin's views on the second Congress are interesting. He wrote:

"On the whole the meeting of the Indian National Congress has had good effect, though not exactly in the direction its promoters anticipated. In the first place, it has given us in some degree the intellectual measure of these gentlemen and has

12a. *Source Material for A History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II (1885-1900) p. 34, published by Govt. of Bombay.

13. *Home-Public*, March 18, 1888 No. 4404. The towns were Gujranwala, Lahore, Ferozepur, Amritsar, Dehra Ismail Khan, etc.



enabled us to gauge their practical wisdom. . . . . I think they are far more able and respectable in their individual capacity than as members of a rather hysterical assembly, in which the more violent and silly of their numbers rule the roost. On the other hand, their extravagant pretensions as embodied in their resolutions, have aroused the opposition and indignation both of the Mahomedan community and of the conservative section of the society which is both large and influential. Indeed for the first time in the recent history of educated India, a conservative party has come into obvious existence. But the most remarkable change of all is the tone of the Native Press, which ever since my speech in Poona has become extremely mild and reasonable."

Dufferin thought that the "character of their discussions was very childish and reminded the auditor rather of the Eton or Harrow Debating Society than even of the Oxford or Cambridge Union". The Secretary of State (Cross) did not seem to agree with Dufferin's favourable assessment of the Calcutta Session. He referred to the resolutions passed at the session as "most advanced and at the same time of impractical character". He was not happy with the Viceroy about his suggestion for making some appointments and added "if any such appointments, as you suggest, are to be allowed, they must be made by the English Government after consultation, if you like, but by the Government by selection not by election".<sup>13a</sup>

At Madras, the Congress had its first Muslim President in the person of Badruddin Tyabji.<sup>14</sup> The Reception Committee had Sir Madhava Rao as Chairman who described the Congress as "the soundest triumph of British Administration and a crown of glory for British Nation".<sup>15</sup> The number of delegates rose to 607 (250 hailed from outside the Presidency besides several distinguished visitors). "Though the first flush of enthusiasm", writes Surendranath Banerjea while describing the Madras session, "had died out (and to many it may seem that the Congress is now sailing over uncharted seas) the public conviction remains unabated that the Congress must continue its work until India

13a. Cross to Dufferin, Feb. 23, 1887.

14. For his life and work, refer to Husain Tyabji, *Badruddin Tyabji*.

15. *Proceedings of Indian National Congress 1886-91*, pp. 67-69.



had achieved her destiny as a self-governing community".<sup>16</sup> The Governor of Madras reported that Congress leaders seemed "very loyal and harmless sort of people" and the Viceroy agreed. He was fully convinced of the loyalty of the educated classes for the matter of the Congress to Her Majesty, the Queen. They believed it would be disastrous for them if the English rule in India was replaced by any other power.<sup>17</sup> The Presidential Addresses of Dadabhai Naoroji in 1886 and Tyabji in 1887 justified this assessment. Naoroji spoke of India's good fortune in being under the British rule which alone enabled the Congress to meet and Tyabji said that the educated Indians were in their "own interest", the best supporters of the British Government in India. When the Maharaja of Mysore subscribed to Congress funds, he was informed that it was not desirable for the princes to interest themselves in political activities outside their States; but the Viceroy added that the Government had no objection to subscriptions being paid by any one living in British India. That this was not inspired by animus against the Congress was proved later by his censure of the Nizam for contributing to anti-Congress funds.<sup>18</sup> The circular described the Congress as "an advanced liberal party" perfectly legitimate in which private persons are free to participate.

It was at the Madras session (1887) that a representative committee latter on known as the Subjects Committee was appointed at the suggestion of Bipin Chandra Pal for settling the programme of work and drafting resolutions for the consideration of the session.<sup>19</sup> A beginning was also made for drawing up a constitution for the Congress and a committee of 34 persons was set up for this purpose.<sup>20</sup> Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra, the mover of the resolution, and Mr. Karandikar were later on added.<sup>21</sup>

16. Bannerjea, S. N. *op. cit.*, p. 193.

17. Dufferin to the Queen, 31 March, 1887. Dufferin Papers, Reel 516;

18. Note of Dufferin, 27th December, 1887. Dufferin Papers, Reel 532; Dufferin to Cross, 8th October, 1888.

19. Pal, B. C., *My Life and Times*, Vol. II, pp. 40-41. For the names of the members of the first committee, refer to *Proceedings of Indian National Congress 1886-91*, p. 76.

20. *Proceedings of Indian National Congress (1886-1891)*. p 77

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-82.



Moving the resolution Dr. T. N. Mitra declared, "a constitutional assembly without a constitution is a sort of misnomer and inconsistency and it may be a logical absurdity. Therefore, we are, it seems to me, to have some rules as to who our delegates are to be, how they are to be elected and how certified to. We ought to have some rules as to the procedure to be followed in this assembly and as to other similar matters".<sup>22</sup> It may, however be added "that it was not before 20 years that a constitution for the Congress could be drawn up. The Indian Social Conference was also started in 1887 mainly under the influence of M. G. Ranade. The Conference was held immediately after the session of the Congress at the same place."<sup>23</sup>

The leaders of the Congress soon became dissatisfied with merely passing resolutions once a year. The authorities did not seem to be in a mood to grant any concessions. In fact Earl of Northbrough wrote to Dufferin on February 4, 1887 regarding the demand of the Congress for the extension of the functions of the Legislative Councils. He thought it to be very objectionable and said;

"You may not know that the present Council's Act was framed by Sir C. Wood in communication with Lord Canning in order, among other things to get rid of the trouble which was given to the Government of India by the Legislative Councils with its old rules admitting questions to be put up etc."<sup>23a</sup> Hume became convinced that the "platonic expressions of sympathy by the authorities were a mockery while nothing practical was being done to lessen the "misery of the masses" and to redress their grievances, he decided to put more vigour and dynamism into the movement. In a pamphlet entitled "The Old Man's Hope", Hume made an impassioned appeal to the Englishmen to save the "debt-laden and despairing peasantry from the ravages of famine and disease."<sup>24</sup> According to Hume, the sufferings of the Indian people from famine and disease were mainly due to poverty which was preventible, "if the Government would take into their

22. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

23. Karve, D. S., *Ranade: The Prophet of India*, p. XXXVII.

23a. *Dufferin Papers*, National Archives of India, Letter No. 35.

24. Wedderburn, *Allan Octavian Hume*, p. 61.



counsels experienced representatives of the people who know exactly where the shoe pinches."<sup>25</sup> As the Government had failed to move in the matter, there was no alternative but to "adopt measures of exceptional vigour following the drastic methods pursued in England by Bright and Cobden in their great campaign on behalf of the peoples' good."<sup>26</sup> The Government had refused to follow their friendly advice and "it will now be for us," he declared, "to instruct the nations, the great English nation in its island home and the far greater nation of this vast continent; so that every Indian that breathes upon the sacred soil of this our Motherland may become our comrade and coadjutor, our supporter and if needs be our soldier in the great war that we, like Cobden and his noble hand, will wage for justice, for our liberties and rights." The propaganda became all the more essential due to the open hostility of a section of the Muslim Community led by Sir Syed Ahmad who was violently opposed to the Congress and who "lent himself willingly to the official manoeuvres to create a counter movement to the Congress."<sup>27</sup> He had already arranged the Muhammadan Educational Conference which held simultaneous sittings with the Congress in 1887,<sup>28</sup> and next year launched a "Patriotic Association" as a counter blast to the Congress.<sup>29</sup>

The Congress was opposed by some of the Arya Samajist leaders of the Punjab for completely different reasons. They thought that the Congress was founded by a few Englishmen to provide "an innocuous occupation for the intelligentsia lest they should organise a strong political movement aimed at England's supremacy." Arya Samajists generally shared the views of one of their leaders, Rai Mul Raj (of the Punjab), that "Indians should make themselves stronger by education, by the spread of swadeshi, by smuggling of arms and then bid their time till they might be strong enough to turn out the English. They further believed that the political agitation would make the British

25. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

27. Zacharias, H. C. E.: *Renascent India*, p. 120.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*



suspicious of the Hindus and they, therefore, would not only obstruct the progress of the Hindus but harm them in all possible ways".<sup>30</sup> There were misgivings about the aims and objects of the Congress in other circles also. The biographer of Dadabhai writes: "The Growth of the infant Hercules had alarmed officialdom. To the Anglo-Indian Community also it seemed to spell subversion of the established order of things and some Parsis and Muhammadans too, took fright at the outcry that the Congress aimed at transferring the Government of India from the Crown to a native Parliament". In other words, it was made out to be the substitution of Hindu for British Raj.<sup>31</sup> Hume could not allow the child of his creation to be strangled by misrepresentation by Imperialists and Communalists when it was still in its infancy. It was at this critical juncture in the growth of the Congress when it had become a target of attack from all sides that Hume, the father of the Congress, decided to explain the origin, aims and objects of this organisation to the millions "that inhabit this sub-continent and who had to be in the vanguard of any political movement, if ever was it to succeed". In pursuance of such a propaganda Mr. Hume set to work, as his biographer tells us, "with his wonted energy, appealing for funds to all classes of Indian Community, distributing tracts, leaflets, and pamphlets, sending out lectures and calling meetings both in large towns and in country districts."<sup>32</sup> More than a thousand meetings were thus held, at many of which over five thousand persons were present.<sup>33</sup> Thousands of copies of the two remarkable pamphlets entitled "A Congress Catechism" (in Tamil) by Vira Raghavachariar of Madras and "A Conversation between Maulvi Farid-ud-Din and one Ram Buksh of Kambakapur".<sup>34</sup> In the former pamphlet, 30,000 copies of which were distributed, it was asserted that "it is only natural that those amongst the officials who are not high-minded should feel annoyed at a movement which will tend to curtail their arbitrary power, and

30. Lajpat Rai, *The Story of My Life*, Autobiographical writings, edited by V. C. Joshi, p. 88.

31. Masani, R. P.: *Dadabhai Naoroji*, p. 202.

32. Wedderburn, *op. cit.* p. 63.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Both these pamphlets were appended to the *Proceedings of the Madras Congress Session 1887*.



generally to compel them to consult the wishes and feelings of the people a great deal more than they do now." It further said, "Nor do English officials in India even report to the members of Parliament what we know the true state of this country and never have the intimate knowledge of its affairs that we possess. In the second place they necessarily believe that all they do is right; and that it is done in the best possible manner; and lastly they not unnaturally desire either a reduction of their salaries or their powers, and this will certainly follow if the English public come really to understand how matters at the present time really stand."<sup>35</sup> It was translated in many Indian languages and freely distributed. The latter pamphlet related by a parable the evils of absentee landlordism, and said that "the way to escape the tyranny of a despotic Government is to seek a representative one such as that for which the Congress was contending."<sup>36</sup>

Hume also published two more pamphlets entitled "Star of the East" and "An Old Man's Hope". In the latter, Hume assumes the role of an old man who had been entrusted by an old devotional lady to bring up her only child (Indian National Congress). He would get his reward, if not in this world, assuredly in the next world. After 5 years the old man presented the old lady with a healthy child and explained that the credit for it should go to its loving uncle (Digby) and its God-father (Bradlaugh). About these, Lajpat Rai writes: "I have yet to come across in Congress literature another set of pamphlets as good as these. The wave of liberty surged through pages and they impressed me profoundly."<sup>37</sup>

The Government was alarmed at the activities of the educated youngmen who toured the length and breadth of the country, sometimes under the guise of ascetics, to enlighten the masses about the aims and objectives of the Congress.<sup>38</sup> They even took recourse

35. *The Indian National Congress* (1888)—Tamil.

36. Masani, R. P.: *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

37. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

38. *The Cow Agitation or the Mutiny-Plasm in India* (Reprinted from the Nineteenth Century, April 1894)—views and observations—a selection of articles by Hon'ble Raja Udai Pratap Singh, Raja of Bhimga, Calcutta, 1907, p. 59.



to the establishment of 'Cow Protection Societies' and under its guise, to quote a contemporary Raja Udai Pratap Singh of Bhimga, preached sedition—the advantages of monopolising the public services, the aggressive character of the foreign rule, and the inhumanity of the English officials. The Congress propaganda seemed to have had great effect on the masses even in these early years. The loyal supporters of the British Government, felt greatly alarmed and advised the Government not to accede to the Congress demand for enrolment of 'native volunteers'. They predicted that the 'native' army would be disaffected and they would have to depend on British soldiers alone. Such was the effect of the propaganda, the Raja admitted, that "every European who enters the Indian Civil Service is vaunted as an assassin, while every native who evinces any mark of loyalty towards the British Government is publicly proclaimed a felon."

A contemporary Englishman Beck criticized the very constitution of the Congress and said "It was bound to foster a spirit of discontent and mutiny to the people; that a Grievance Hall as a permanent institution, would be like a running sore bringing all kinds of aches and pains to the body politic and that the delegate system based as it was on popular support and popular discontent was bound to encourage a kind of public-speaking and literature, the subject of which would be to picture in glowing colours, the injustice of Government. And this, however, strong and however loyal the hands that controlled the movement, however much they might wish not to influence discontent among the ignorant, it would be practically impossible to prevent the National Congress its ramifications for becoming deadly engine of sedition."<sup>39</sup> These pamphlets were,<sup>40</sup> as a cursory perusal will show, very outspoken and it is surprising how they were tolerated by the authorities in those days. Mazumdar's reference to them in his book, *Indian National Evolution* as "a few perfectly harmless leaflets"<sup>41</sup> is far from true when we study them from, an established Government's point of view and also when we remember the latter-day persecutions of

39. Witkins, *Indian National Congress*, pp. 67-93.

40. For these pamphlets, refer to *Proc. I.N.C. (1886-91)*, pp. 199-214.

41. Mazumdar, A. C.: *Indian National Evolution*, p. 72.



newspaper editors and other writers on far trivial matters. Hume himself never defended them on this ground, even when Colvin, Governor of N. W. P. contended that "these pamphlets excited hatred against the Government". His reply was that, "nothing was to be gained by ignoring the notorious practical grievances felt by the peasantry." Hume, however, made it clear that they never preached sedition. "The people are taught to recognise the many benefits that they owe to British rule", he explained at a public meeting, "as also the fact that on the peaceful continuance of that rule depend all hopes for the peace and prosperity of the country..... The sin of illegal or anarchical proceedings are brought home to them and the conviction is engendered not by united, patient constitutional agitation they are certain ultimately to obtain all they can reasonably ask for, while by any recourse to hasty or violent action they must inevitably ruin their cause and entail endless misery on themselves." Hundreds of public meetings were organised to propagate the Congress cause.

Pamphleteering was not, however, the sole sin of the Congress. Special efforts were made by its leaders to induce the Muhammadans to join the Congress. The appeal made by Badruddin Tyabji as President of the Madras Session to his co-religionists was followed by active propaganda in Urdu all over the country. A Muslim named Ali Bhimji toured the districts of U.P. enlisting Muslim support.<sup>42</sup> Lajpat Rai invited him to Hissar (in the Punjab) where he addressed a large public meeting.<sup>43</sup> This was a real danger in the eyes of bureaucracy, more unnerving than all the patriotic force of all the Congress speakers and writers. How could the Government sit with folded hands when they saw good Muslims falling lightly into the Congress 'trap'? Official and non-official influences were, therefore, at work to make the Muslim subjects of the crown see through the 'seditious' movement and to inflame the whole community against the attempt to introduce a Hindu Raj fatal to its interests.<sup>44</sup> Efforts were made to sow

42. *Aligarh Institute Gazetteer*, December 13, 1888, *Report of National Congress Papers* (1871-1897), p. 687.

43. Lajpat Rai, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

44. Masani, *op. cit.*, p. 303.



dissension among Hindus and Muslims. It was pointed out by Beck and others that 'popular rule' meant the rule of the Hindu majority. Prof. Beck of Aligarh took pains to emphasize that Hindus and Muslims did not form one nation. "Not less than the physical difference between the burning plains of Mecca and the snowy heights of Himalaya is the difference in thought and feeling between the Mahomedan and Hindu world". Beck ridiculed those who referred to the existence of a common national feeling among the peoples of India on the "opposition raised by Anglo-Indians to the Ilbert Bill, the ovation given to Lord Ripon, the protestations of loyalty at the time of the Russian crisis and least of all the mourning stated to have been general on the death of Keshub Chunder Sen." The resolutions passed by the Indian National Congress asking for representative institutions were considered impracticable. The insurmountable obstacles to their success were, "the ignorance of the peasantry, the absence of a class from which to select capable statesmen and legislators, the inability of a Parliament to control the army and the mixture of nationalists."<sup>45</sup>

The worst crime of the Congress, however, was the agitation carried on in England by Dadabhai in the name of the Congress, on behalf of the people of India. He had succeeded in enlisting the sympathy and support of a man like Sir William Hunter to the Congress cause. He had openly declared that the political forces represented by the Congress were so great that the British Government if it sought to thwart them, would break itself in the attempt. Ever since the inauguration of the Congress, Dadabhai had been pressing for the establishment of a political agency to represent officially the Congress in England. As the cost involved was too much for the infant organisation he volunteered in 1887 to act as Agent to the Congress without remuneration but even the funds for other expenses for propaganda could not be found. However, due to the energetic efforts of W. Digby, an office was set up in the Craven Street Strand in the following year. Vigorous campaign was carried out to arouse British interest and sympathies for the Congress movement in India. About its work, Masani writes: "The Agency freely circulated 10,000 copies of the report of the third Congress and many thousand copies of speeches and

45. Witkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-93.



pamphlets among all newspapers in the United Kingdom, members of both Houses of Parliament, various political organisations and leading public men. Huge person posters, calling attention to Indian grievances were printed and put up throughout the United Kingdom and handbills were distributed at numerous meetings.<sup>46</sup> Excellent propaganda was thus carried on in England until the British Committee of the Indian National Congress was formed and associated with the agency in July 1889 under the chairmanship of Wedderburn, who retained that office until his death in January, 1918. It aroused the indignation of the die-hard conservatives, who found fault with the English education being imparted to the Indians. J. M. Maclean, said in an article in the *Asiatic Quarterly*, "The Indian schools and colleges which turn out year by year a never-ending supply of political agitators, cannot possibly be diverted to the purpose of teaching the natives to appreciate the advantages of living under British rule. Education quickens the intellectual faculties and stimulates ambitions and we are reaping its fruit in the desire for political independence....." He went on to quote the remarks of the historian Elphinstone when pointing to a pile of school boys, he said, "these will prepare the way for the downfall of English rule in India; but it is our duty to teach the people, nevertheless." The writer adds that "the accuracy of Elphinstone's prophecy is wide established and Sir John Gorst is only to give the people a little more education in order to succeed in educating the English out of India."<sup>47</sup>

From the time this propoganda was addressed to the masses, the official attitude which till then had been one of more or less friendly neutrality became distinctly antagonistic. And as a contemporary Englishman wrote about the Congress agitation: "The essential feature is that they do not confine their action to the educated classes but make every effort to extend it to the ignorant. Mass meetings are held and addressed by fiery orators, and inflammatory literature is circulated in the vernacular."<sup>48</sup> Dufferin wrote of Hume as "a mischievous busy-body whom Ripon had

46. Masani, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

47. *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January-April, 1889, Volume VII—The article on "Home Rule Movement of India by J. M. Maclean.

48. Watkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-93.



"rather petted....cleverish, a little crack, vain, and unscrupulous and I am told very careless about truth."<sup>49</sup>

For Anglo-Indians that was the most disastrous phase of the agitation. Already Gladstone had declared that the capital agent in finally determining the question whether the British power in India was or was not to continue, would be the will of the 240 millions of people who inhabited this country. "It would not do for us", he had warned his countrymen, to treat with indifference, "the rising aspirations of this great people."<sup>50</sup> There was a clamour in Anglo-Indian circles that the Congress should be checked from speaking on behalf of India and misleading the British people. British writers like J. M. Maclean pointed out to the Government that the organisation like the Congress should not be allowed to gather strength from year to year till it becomes a rival authority to that of the Executive Government. "It was time for the English statesmen to arouse themselves from their attitude of the benevolent neutralists towards the Congress before the masses of the Indian population fall a prey to the agents of the mischievous agitation. Nothing would be easier than to stop the meetings of the Congress at present; a few years hence, such a course would be too late. Let us have the courage to repudiate the pretence that we keep India merely for the benefits of the people of that country and in order to train them for self-Government. We keep it for the sake of the interest and the honour of England, and the only form of Government by which we can continue to hold it in subjection is that of disposition."<sup>51</sup>

In a paper entitled "In What Will it End", Professor Beck of Aligarh said: "As it is my belief that the agitation, of which the National Congress is the visible head, will if unchecked, sooner or later end in a mutiny, with its accompanying horrors and massacres, followed by a terrible retaliation on the part of the British Government bringing an absolute ruin for the Mussulmans, the Rajputs and other brave races and resulting in the retardation of all progress". Prof. Beck continued: "We had a sharp lesson in

49. Dufferin to Sir Henry Maine, 9th May, 1886, Dufferin Papers, Reel 525.

50. Masani, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

51. Maclean, J. M., *op. cit.*, pp. 432-33.



1857 about the inadvisability of not studying the under-currents of thoughts in India as I fear that if we let the Bengali press and if the Congress agitation go on for another 10 or 20 years, we shall have as disagreeable an awakening as we had then." The officials, however, resorted to another device. In their opinion the best way to kill the Congress was to have countrywide demonstrations against it. There were the numerous Islamia Anjumans to take the lead. Besides, several anti-Congress organisations had already been set on foot specifically for the purpose. There was the United Indian Patriotic Association of which Sir Syed Ahmad was the Secretary; there was also the British Indian Association of Oudh, ready to "give the Congress a bad name and hang it." They all combined and organised public meetings<sup>52</sup> and hostile demonstrations in different parts of India denouncing the Congress and challenging its right to speak on behalf of the people of the country. They also issued tracts and pamphlets, subsidised journals and took special care to send anti-Congress literature to England for the information of Members of Parliament, English journals and the people of the United Kingdom. With funds lavishly placed in its hands, the so-called Patriotic Association was the most active in carrying on such agitation. It issued several pamphlets, one of which showing the seditious character of the Indian National Congress and the opinions held by eminent natives of India who were opposed to the movement. Theodore Beck was the editor. Among the contributors were some Rajahs who were "intellectually cyphers, unable to write a single page of good English." There were no doubt able men too such as Syed Ahmad and Syed Hussain Bilgrami but they were both tainted. On the list of opponents were the Nizam of Hyderabad, Nawab Sir Salar Jung, Nawab Abdul Majid Khan, Syed Amir Ali and Raja Amir Hussain.

Sir Syed Ahmad led a crusade against the Congress. He fully supported Beck in his efforts to break the Congress. He addressed a number of meetings and toured to impress upon Muhammadans that the Congress movement was "very injurious to their interests." He ridiculed the Congress demand for competitive examinations

52. Austin Rattary (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January-April 1889) refers to 50 such meetings organised by Muhammadans.



for recruitment to services. It would mean that the Bengalis would be occupying higher posts in all parts of the country. He told the Muslims that equally injurious was the Congress demand for introduction of the system of elections. "Hindus now outnumber the Muhammedans by four members to one, by sheer majority. Even if the merit was to be the criterion, I say with a sore heart, to the whole nation there is no person who is equal to the Hindus in fitness for the work." Therefore, he advised them "to keep aloof from political uproar." It was harmful for their interests to "make friendships with the Bengalis in their mischievous political proposals."

There is an interesting letter from John Morley to Lord Minto, dated 11th October, 1906. He writes: "I asked Maclean, the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court, could he tell me of a nearly first class Mohammedan judge. No, not one. 2. Same question to Stephen, a judge in the same court. Same answer: not even first class Mohammedan barrister or pleader. Stephen also did not think Mohammedans, who came under notice of court, were a whit less addicted to perjury than Hindus themselves, were damnable. 3. Mac Mahon who has had plenty to do with Mohammedans thinks not well of them as an element in a state; they are absolutely more or less without any principle of reform in them; much more chance for the Hindus, heathens as they are, so said he."<sup>52a</sup> The *Aligarh Institute Gazetteer*, October 13, 1888 referred to a meeting of 5,000 Muslims at Jama-i-Masjid in Saharanpur which passed a resolution unanimously condemning the Congress. Some of the newspapers such as the *Punjabi Akhbar* (Lahore), *Qaisari* (Jullundur) and the *Jubilee* (Lucknow) supported Sir Syed Ahmed and asked the Muslims not to join the Congress. Bengalis who were in the vanguard of the movement came in for abuse. Nizam of Hyderabad gave a handsome donation to Sir Syed to work against the Congress.<sup>53</sup>

However, public meetings were held at Agra, Aligarh and other places supporting the Congress. It was pointed out that the "Congress's was perfectly loyal movement, that its aims and objects

<sup>52a</sup> *Minto Papers*; in Philins. op. cit., pp. 193-94.

<sup>53</sup> Austin Rattary, "The Indian National Congress", in *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January-April, 1889.



were beneficial to all classes of the Indian population; and that the opponents were influenced by prejudice and selfish matters in their opposition to it."<sup>54</sup> Many other papers including *Nasim-i-Agra* laid stress on the loyalty of the Congress. "Nothing could be more preposterous than to call the Congress a seditious movement."<sup>55</sup>

It was at this time that Lala Lajpat Rai, the veteran Congress Leader of the Punjab, addressed open letters to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. These letters appeared in an Urdu Weekly '*Kohi-nur*' of Lahore, and were later translated into English and published in the form of a pamphlet at the suggestion of Hume. In these letters Lajpat Rai showed how Syed Ahmad had gone back from all that he preached in his former days quoting copiously from his earlier writings. The author of these letters maintained that the Congress wanted to promote the same ideals which Sir Syed had advocated before the Congress was founded. He castigated the old man for the change in his views and asked him to explain his reasons for it. Lajpat Rai wrote "Times have changed and with them convictions! Flattery and official cajoleries have blinded the eyes of the most far-seeing; cowardice has depressed the souls of the foremost of seekers of truth and high-sounding titles and the favours of worldly Governors have extinguished the fire of truth in many a noble heart. Is it not a sad spectacle to see the men whose days numbered, whose feet are almost in the grave, trying to root out all the trees planted with their own hands!" Lajpat Rai quoted from Sir Syed Ahmad's book *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* wherein he had blamed the British Government for their indifference to the Indian public opinion. "There was no real communication between the Government and the governed," Sir Syed Ahmed had said. "No living together or near one another, as has always been the custom of Mohammedans in countries which they subjected to their rule. Government and its officials have never adopted the course without which no real knowledge of the people can be gained." Then Lajpat Rai asked Sir Syed Ahmad why he had thought it advisable to change his opinion. As regards his hostility to the Congress demand for a representation in the

54. Bharat Bandhu, Oct. 5, 1889, Aligarh.

55. Report of Native Newspapers, Punjab, NWP, Oudh, etc., 1871-97.



Legislative Councils of India, Lajpat Rai said, "Thirty years ago you (Sir Syed) had advocated the institution of a Parliament and yet chide us saying that we want an Indian Parliament, notwithstanding our protest that for the present and for a long time to come we do not claim any such thing. Mark the difference. India is no longer what it was 30 years ago. In the course of this period, it has made a marked advance towards a higher civilisation. The natives of India are no longer, with very few exceptions, ignorant or uneducated. The rays of education are penetrating and shedding their wholesome light into most Indian homes.... Can you in the face of all these facts still call us seditious?" He urged Sir Syed to confess that he had changed his political opinion and had become a loyal supporter of the Government. Lajpat Rai criticised the election of Raja Shiva Prashad and Sir Syed Ahmad to the Governor-General's Legislative Council and said, "Can men, like Raja Shiva Prashad and yourself be properly considered as representatives of the people, and can the method of selection by which you are sent to the Council Chamber, be accepted as of any value? I think no reasonable man would contend that it would have been possible if Raja Shiva Prashad had been an elected representative of the people of India, for him to have libelled the whole Indian nation as he did in his notorious speech on the Ilbert Bill." Lajpat Rai pointed out to him that in his earlier utterances (e.g. the speech at Meerut and Gurdaspur, January 27, 1884) he had considered Hindus and Muslims as forming one nation. Lajpat Rai now chided him for changing his opinion. He ended with these remarks: "Anybody reading these extracts will, once for all, be convinced of the former loftiness and present lowness of your position. Foreigners reading these extracts will not believe that your now famous Meerut and Lucknow speeches were in reality delivered by the same Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who was once proud of his broad-mindedness."

About the Congress, Sir Syed Ahmad expressed his views to Badruddin Tyabji in one of his letters, "I do not understand what the words "National Congress" mean? Is it supposed that the different castes and creeds living in India belong to one nation or can become (one nation), and their aims and aspirations be one and the same? I think it is quite impossible.... You regard the doings of the mis-named National Congress as beneficial to India



but I am sorry to say that I regard them as not only injurious to our own community but also to India at large." Tyabji's reply was that the Congress was "nothing more and should be nothing more than an assembly of educated people from all parts of India and representing all races and creeds meeting together for the discussion of only such questions as may be generally admitted to concern the whole of India at large." "No one", said Tyabji, "regarded the whole of nation as one nation; but there were some questions which touched all communities or nations of India". Thus, it appears that Tyabji had also doubts about the oneness of the Indian nation. He elaborated it later "I would say to all Musalmans—act with your Hindu fellow-subjects in all matters in which you are agreed but oppose them as strongly as you can if they bring forward any propositions that you may deem prejudicial to yourselves".<sup>56</sup>

But Syed Ahmad was not willing to compromise with the Hindus under any circumstance. He publicly declared "Is it possible that under these circumstances, two nations—the Mohamaden and the Hindu—could sit on the same throne and remain equally in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable."<sup>57</sup>

About the attitude of the Muhammadans towards the National Congress there is an interesting letter from Sir W. H. George to Dufferin which is dated March 21, 1887. It reads:

"What you told me of the attitude of the Mahommedans in regard to public meetings exactly corroborates what I heard when I was in India and what I have written in my articles, namely that they see clearly that they had best stuck to us, as they would get scant favour from Baboo or Brahmin ascendancy and I have pointed out effects of a Brahmin ascendancy in Cashmere on a Mohamadan population.

56. Tyabji papers, National Archives of India.

57. Sir Syed Ahmad, *"The Present State of Indian Politics"*, Allahabad, 1888, p. 37.



I quite agree that it would hardly be advisable to touch the press question, important almost vital as it is, so long as you have a weak Government in power, not before so long as Gladstone's influence is as overwhelming as it still is on all questions except that of the unity of the Empire. He knows nothing of India and in the case of subjects whereon he is ignorant, his ignorance is great indeed, but he is strongly committed to the freedom of the Indian press, he would be shouting in one corner and Ripon doing much unconscious mischief as he could in another denouncing any attempt to stifle Indian opinion. If a sober-minded statesman like Hartington became P.M. matters could be easily arranged and by you very easily than any other man, but if the present Government were to accept and back up any plan of yours that alone apart from its merits and demerits, would be sufficient to arouse fiercest denunciations from Gladstone."

According to Mackenzie Wallace, Lord Dufferin soon acquired the reputation of a benevolent protector of the Muslims. Even there were, at least in high official circles rumours of deporting Hume. The father of the Congress was, however, shrewed enough to explain his position at a great public meeting.<sup>57a</sup> Hume's speech at Allahabad on the 30th April, 1888, later on published under the title "A Speech on the Indian National Congress, its origin, aims and objects." Then followed that vigorous correspondence between Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieut. Governor of North-Western Provinces and Hume which has since become an historic one. It was later on published under the title *Audi Alteram Partem*. It is unnecessary to discuss it at length here except that part which throws light on the new phase of the Congress movement. For details the curious reader may refer to Wedderburn's biography of Allan Octavian Hume.<sup>58</sup> Sir Auckland's letter running into 20 typed pages while expressing approval with the aims and objects of the Congress viz. the expansion of the Legislative Councils on popular basis.<sup>59</sup> finds fault with the methods adopted by the Congress since 1887 when it started aggressive propaganda on the lines of the model of the Anti-Corn law campaign in England.<sup>60</sup> Colvin

57a. Dufferin Paper, N.A.I. Letter No. 66.

58. Wedderburn. *op. cit.*, pp. 66-78.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 68.



regarded such a propoganda as premature and criticized the language of the pamphlets, which according to him excited hatred against the Government. He anticipated that the Congress agitation would lead to counter agitation and divide the country into hostile camps. Lastly he expressed doubts about the representative character of the Congress.<sup>61</sup>

Hume's reply covering over 60 typed pages dealt with every objection of Colvin. As regards the charge of exciting hatred, Hume's contention was that nothing was to be gained by "ignoring the notorious practical grievances felt by the peasantry", and he named them to be "unsuitable civil courts, the corrupt and oppressive police, the rigid revenue system, the galling administration of the Arms Act and the Forest Act."<sup>62</sup> Through these pamphlets, Hume declared, "We approach these intelligent men with sympathy, we admit their grievances, but we put them in a milder shape than they themselves do. We also tell them that it is not the individual governors or officials who are to blame" but the system, the form of that administration. And "we further show them how, by loyal and constitutional efforts they can secure the amelioration of that system and a remedy for many of the evils they have to contend against."<sup>63</sup> Bepin Chandra Pal, it may be interesting to recall, supported Colvin in his "warning against drawing the masses to this political movement" for he thought it to be a dangerous thing for India if the masses were to be imbued with a spirit of antagonism to the British Government.<sup>64</sup>

As for the risk of a counter-agitation which might divide the country into hostile camps, Hume did not think that there was any real opposition to the Congress party. "Excluding an inappreciable fraction", he declared "the whole culture and intelligence of the country was favourable to the Congress", and even the small anti-Congress party was "made up of a small knot of Anglo-Indians, mostly officials, supported by a section of the Anglo-Indian Press; a few men who in their hearts hate British rule,

61. Wedderburn, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

63. Wedderburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

64. Wedderburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.



or are secretly in the employ of England's enemies" and a certain number of "timeservers, men not really in their hearts opposed to the Congress, but who have taken up the work of opposition to it, because it has seemed to them that this will pay."<sup>65</sup> Contrary to Colvin's hopes, Hume said, Congress had proved to be a great unifying force and he instanced the case of Salem—till recently a hot-bed of religious feuds between Hindus and Muslims.<sup>66</sup> He refuted Colvin's theory that active Congress propaganda would stir up religious rivalries between the two big communities as Mohammadens had fallen behind Hindus in the attainment of western education and consequently could not compete with them in the learned professions and examinations for public services—a share in which was being demanded by the Congress.<sup>67</sup>

So they looked with suspicion and jealousy towards the Congress which they regarded as "an instrument of aggrandisement for the Hindus." Hume was indignant. "The wretched plea" he said "about the Mohammadens being so inferior to Hindus that they will have no chance if a fair field is conceded to all classes and sects is monstrous." He then named a number of distinguished Muslim public men as Sir Salar Jung, Mr. Justice Badurddin Tyabji, and Mr. Justice Syed Mahmud. What was required was sound education for which their leaders were already working firstly by trying to set up a Muslim University and secondly by supporting Gokhale's Bill for free and compulsory elementary education.<sup>68</sup> With regard to the objection that the Congress had no right to claim to be representative of the people of India, Hume said, that after all the Parliament in Great Britain represented only a fraction of the people of England. Congress in India represented the culture and intelligence of the country—a claim which was a little later confirmed by Lord Landsdowne when he declared that the Congress represented "the more advanced liberal party",<sup>69</sup> in India.

It will be interesting to recall in this connection the observations of a prominent British writer who was opposed to the Con-

65. Wedderburn. *op.cit.*, p. 71.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 74



gress. He said: "It is a mistake to say that the principal Congressmen were all Bengalis. The Maratha Brahmins—from Poona form a very important and influential section. They belong to the priestly caste that sustained Shivaji in his heroic resistance to the great Mughals, and ultimately established Maratha empire on the ruins of throne of Delhi." Proud of these recent memories and gifted with remarkably subtle and shrewd intellects and enjoying the confidence of the powerful Maratha princes of Central and Western India, this Brahminical contingent of agitators were far more capable than their Bengali colleagues of conjuring a dangerous political intrigue; a well informed Anglo-Indian said that the Congress is directed from Poona rather than from Calcutta. Then there were Parsees whose younger generation with a literary training had made common cause with Hindu graduates of Poona. A few Mohammadians had also joined in the agitation but the Indian Musulmans as a body were bitterly opposed to the Movement.<sup>70</sup>

To Colvin's charge that the propoganda was "premature and mischievous", Hume replied at length. His view was that the Governor did not know the truth as he looked upon the Government, "through the rose-tinted official spectacles that so long obscured my sight."<sup>71</sup> There were "independent Indians of high character and public spirit" in every province but they had to be found out as they "do not willingly present themselves in official quarters where they may be met with suspicion from the authorities and insult from underlings." It was through these Indians that Hume came to know of the danger looming ahead, "tremendous in the immediate future from the misery of the masses, acted on by the bitter resentment of individuals among the educated classes." They warned Hume to take immediate steps if that danger was to be averted. "And the danger becomes all the more great when it is realized that the autocratic power is exercised by a handful of foreigners, alien to the population in language, race and creed and belonging to a masterful nation singularly regardless of the feelings and prejudices of others."<sup>72</sup> So when the Congress was started,

70. Maclean, J. M., *op.cit.*, p. 432.

71. Wedderburn, *op.cit.*, 75.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 78.



Hume continued, the question was not, "Is it premature but is it too late, will the country now accept it....a safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed no more efficacious safety valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised," Hume concluded.

Regarding the Hume-Colvin controversy, B. C. Pal writes "I took some little part writing to the Press practically supporting Sir Auckland Colvin in his warning against drawing the masses to this political movement. I held that it would be a dangerous thing not only for the British Government but also for India if the masses were to be imbued with antagonism to British rule through our political agitations."<sup>73</sup> W. C. Bonnerjee had declared in course of a public utterance that one of the objects of the Congress was to "lower the British Government in the estimation of the people."

Several meetings were organised by the Congress to explain the aims and objectives of the Organisation. The meetings at Aligarh and Agra were addressed by Ajodhya Nath who endeavoured to show that the Congress was a perfectly loyal movement. The meeting at Agra concluded with 3 cheers for Her Majesty, three for the Congress, and three for the President. Some of the native newspapers particularly "The *Nasim-i-Agra*" of Agra, *Bharat Bandhu* of Aligarh, and the *Almora Akhbar* published articles praising the role of the Congress and expressed the hope that the "Congress"<sup>74</sup> may ultimately prove to be the nucleus of an Indian Parliament."<sup>75</sup>

Though Dufferin agreed with Colvin's views, he refused to be drawn in the controversy. He was anxious not to give any cause of annoyance to the Congress on the eve of his departure. He was eager to receive a farewell even bigger than that was accorded to Ripon. To placate the Congress leaders, he urged the Home authorities to permit him before his departure to introduce Council reforms. He considered "the objects even of the more advanced

73. Pal, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 49.

74. *Native Newspapers—Reports of North Western Provinces and Oudh* (1871-89), pp. 687-89.

75. *Almora Akhbar*; Feb., 20, 1886, N. N. R. (1871-80) p. 145.



party neither very dangerous nor very extravagant.”<sup>76</sup> As regards the reforms demanded by the Congress in Legislative Councils he confessed that “soon after my arrival in the country it occurred to me that improvement might be possible in that direction and personally I should feel it both a relief and an assistance if in the settlement of many administrative questions affecting the interests of millions of Her Majesty’s subjects, I could rely to a larger extent than at present upon the experience, and counsels of Indian Co-adjutors.”<sup>77</sup> And he found that there were amongst the natives “a considerable number who are both able and sensible.”<sup>78</sup> “The fact of their supporting the Government,” he continued “would popularize many of its acts which now have the appearance of being driven through the legislature by force and if they in their turn had a native party behind them, the Government of India would cease to stand up, as it does now, as an isolated rock in the middle of a tempestuous sea, around whose base the breakers dash themselves simultaneously from all the four quarters of the heavens.”<sup>79</sup> He considered the desire of the natives to take part in the management of their domestic affairs, “a legitimate and reasonable aspiration,” and he pleaded with the Home Government that he thought “there should be enough statesmanship amongst us to contrive the means of permitting them to do so without unduly compromising our Imperial supremacy.”<sup>80</sup> After enumerating all the points for and against his proposals he concluded with a warning “Under existing circumstances, the Government of India has no adequate medium through which it can explain its policy, correct a wrong impression, or controvert a false statement and though upto the present time the consequences of the evils I have indicated may not have become very serious or widespread, they contain the germs of incalculable danger.”<sup>81</sup>

“India”, he wrote to the Master of Trinity, “is daily becoming a difficult country to govern.... A highly educated and in certain respects a very able and intelligent native class has come into

76. Lyall, A. C., *The Life of the Marquis of Dufferin & Ava*, p. 151.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

78. *Ibid.*

79. *Ibid.*

80. Lyall, A. C., *op. cit.*, p. 153.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 155.



existence during the last 30 years and naturally desires to be admitted to a large share in the conduct of their own affairs". Dufferin was, however, convinced more than ever of the loyalty of the educated classes and for that matter of the Congress to His Majesty, the King. He believed that "the most extravagant Bengali Babu that ever slung ink, as the expression is, cherishes at heart a deep devotion to Your Majesty's person and a firm conviction that it would be destruction to him if ever English rule in India was replaced by that of any other power."

He was firmly of the view that an alien government, exercising absolute domination through a small number of officials over a population of 250 millions in a distant country should expect discontent to be ripe and active and be always in a position to control and suppress a party affected to their rule but he did not suspect the Congress of being such a party. All this indicated that the educated classes which had been created under British auspices were beginning to take an interest in public affairs and he felt that these should be allowed to know more and to have ampler opportunities of expressing their opinions on the administrative matters of the Government.<sup>81a</sup>

But soon he realized that it was not possible to woo the Congress leaders and he extended unqualified support to Colvin. In his famous St. Andrews Farewell Speech,<sup>82</sup> Lord Dufferin showered abuses on the 'devoted head' of the Congress in whose creation he was said to have played a leading role. He denounced the Congress as "a microscopic minority" whose claim to represent the people of India, he described, as "groundless". While declaring the ultimate ambition of the Congress as "a very big jump into the unknown",<sup>83</sup> he reminded them that "in the present condition of India there can be no real or effective representation of the people with their enormous number, their multifarious interests and their tessellated minorities."<sup>84</sup> Then he made common cause with Colvin and condemned the Congress for having

81a. Dufferin to Queen, March 31, 1887 Dufferin Papers, Reel 516, No. 64.

82. For detailed speech, refer to *Dufferin Speeches delivered in India*, pp. 237-44.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 239.



distributed seditious pamphlets "amongst thousands and thousands by a very questionable spirit and whose manifest aim is to excite the hatred of the people against the public servants of the crown in this country."<sup>85</sup> Lastly he warned Hume, General Secretary of the Congress thus: "Nor is the silly threat of one of the chief officers—the principal Secretary, I believe of the Congress, that he and his Congress friends hold in their hands the keys not only of a popular insurrection but of a military revolt calculated to restore our confidence in their discretion even when accompanied by the assurance that they do not intend for the present to put these keys into the locks."

This speech brought out a sharp rejoinder from Eardley Norton and a spirited defence from that most powerful champion of Indian aspirations Charles Bradlaugh.<sup>86</sup> The whole Indian press condemned these outbursts from an unexpected quarter. This speech was, however, another masterstroke of British diplomacy. While recommending liberal reforms to Home authorities Dufferin thought it advisable to give a snub to the leaders of the Congress and criticize their demands as "extravagant". While forwarding his speech to Lord Cross, Secretary of State and other members of the Council he explained in a letter dated December 3, 1888.<sup>87</sup> "It will of course make the Home Rule Party in India very angry and expose me to a good deal of obloquy and abuse just as I am leaving the country, the echoes of which may reverberate at home but I thought it would clear the atmosphere and render Lansdowne's position easier and pleasanter. I might of course have neutralized what was unpopular in my speech by some hint as to the proposals we have submitted to you for liberalising the Provincial Councils which is all that reasonable leaders even of most advanced section of Young India dream of." But the Viceroy did not like to "breathe a syllable which could in any way, even in a remote degree, commit the Government or any successor to any policy of the kind or raise the expectations which might, after all prove impossible of fulfilment."<sup>88</sup>

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-44.

86. Mazumdar, A. C., *op. cit.*, p. 76. For Dufferin's reply also see *ibid.*

87. Lyall, A. C., *op. cit.*, p. 204.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 204.



Dufferin's statement was regarded by the Secretary of State for India, as of no more moment than a speech made by an irresponsible politician at a public meeting in England. However, Lansdowne who succeeded Dufferin supported the latter's proposals. "A timely concession of this kind would, I believe, take a great deal of the wind out of the sails of the Congress, whereas, if the reform is delayed too long, it will be assuredly regarded as having been extorted from us." This speech figured quite prominently in the next session of the Congress which met at Allahabad under trying circumstances. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, that lion of the Uttar Pradesh, Pandit Ajudhya Nath experienced considerable difficulty in procuring a suitable site for the Pandal.<sup>89</sup> They were put to great hardships both by the civil and military authorities.<sup>90</sup> No suitable site could be procured until that "patriotic nobleman of Behar who was a gothic pillar of the Congress", Maharaja Laskshmeswar Singh of Darbhanga, purchased the Lowther Castle<sup>91</sup> just facing the Government House and placed it at the disposal of the Reception Committee.<sup>92</sup>

Surendranath remarked that "when the story of this spiteful and the unworthy persecution is published in this country, and when it is repeated in England, I am sure there will be one universal feeling of indignation throughout the country which I hope will teach the local officials a lesson which they have yet to learn."<sup>93</sup> In spite of the opposition of the bureaucracy and the open hostility of Sir Syed Ahmad who had asked his followers to keep aloof from the Congress,<sup>94</sup> the Allahabad session was highly successful. The rumours that the followers of Sir Syed Ahmad and Raja Shiva Prasad,<sup>95</sup> another trusted friend of the officials, both of whom had founded the Indian United Patriotic Association<sup>96</sup> to serve as a bulwark against the Congress, might break the Con-

89. For details refer to *Proc. I.N.C.* (1886-91), pp. 66-68.

90. *Ibid.*

91. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

92. Mazumdar, A. C., *op. cit.*, p. 73.

93. *Proc. I.N.C.* (1886-91), p. 87.

94. Graham, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan*, p. 273.

95. Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

96. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 273.



gress,<sup>97</sup> proved to be unfounded.<sup>98</sup> The attack, however, produced, contrary to the expectations of the authorities, a very wholesome effect on the public mind and the number of delegates rose to 1248,<sup>99</sup> including 200 Muhammadans.<sup>100</sup> There were amongst them the scions of the royal families of Delhi and Oudh,<sup>101</sup> besides several delegates from Aligarh—the home town of Sir Syed Ahmad. And all this happened in the teeth of opposition from the Government, as pointed out by Pandit Ajudhya Nath in his address.<sup>102</sup> “News comes to us from district after district that people have been told by their official superiors that they would come to grief, if they joined, subscribed to, or any way aided the National Congress.” A confidential circular was said to have been issued by the Inspector General of Police, Bengal to the District Superintendents of Police in this respect.<sup>103</sup> In Gorakhpur anti-Congress meetings were arranged with the help of the Government Officers who also attended them.<sup>104</sup> The Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai who was in England at that time felt jubilant and wrote to Wacha “what a relief to me that the Congress has been so successful.....Events so shaped themselves that neither Dufferin’s attack nor Colvin’s correspondence did much mischief.”<sup>105</sup> The President of that session was Andrew Yule, a great Calcutta merchant about whom Surendranath remarks that he never came across “a Calcutta merchant with broader and more liberal views or with more genuine sympathy for Indian aspirations.”<sup>106</sup> He clearly defined the demands of the Congress as: “we want the Legislative Councils to be expanded to an extent that will admit of the representation of the various interests in the country so far as they may be practicable. We want half the members to be elected, the other half to be on the

97. *Ibid.*

98. Pal, B. C., *op. cit.*, Volume II, p. 88

99. *Proc. I.N.C.* (1886-91), p. 249

100. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 249.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

103. *Koh-i-Nur*, Lahore, October 13, 1888. *Report of Native Newspapers*, N.W.P. & Oudh (1871-1895) pp. 182 and 687.

104. *Ibid.*

105. Letter dated January 18, 1889, Masani, *op. cit.*, pp. 308-14.

106. Bannerjea, S. N., *op. cit.*, p. 109



appointment of the Government and we are willing that the right of veto should be with the Executive. We also want the right of interpellation."<sup>107</sup> He also exhorted the followers of the Congress not to be discouraged as "all movements of the kind on which we are concerned pass through several phases as they run these courses. The first is one of ridicule which is usually succeeded by partial concession, and misrepresentation of aim, accompanied by warnings against taking 'big jumps into the unknown.'<sup>108</sup> And he also pointed out that they have already passed the first stage and "we are mid-way between the abusive, misapprehensive stages."<sup>109</sup>

In spite of the inimical criticism, the Congress forged ahead and the so-called patriotic associations found an early grave. The *Almora Akhbar* wrote: "Of the 800 delegates who attended the last (i.e. Allahabad) Congress, no less than 100 were Musalman."<sup>110</sup> The *Ghamkhwar-i-Hind* (Lahore) was critical of Sir Syed's role. It condemned his lectures as "highly impolitic and inexpedient." It only widened the gulf between Hindus and Muslims, the paper said. The *Koh-i-Nur* (Lahore) expressed surprise and regret over Syed's sudden *volte-face*.

It will be informative to detail the method which was followed in the election of the delegates to the Congress session in those early days. The sectoral and ward or town divisions, on fixed dates, of which due notice was given, held public meetings and at these after due discussions of the aims and objects of the Congress, delegates were elected. In the case of larger territorial divisions, preliminary meetings were held at all the smaller towns and larger groups of villages, at each of which five, ten, or twenty men were elected to attend the main meeting at the headquarters where the delegates for the division were finally elected. Everyman who was interested in the matter could cast his vote either in the sectoral divisions, if he belonged to one such, or in the meetings, preliminary or final in the territorial divisions. The elected delegate was thus entitled to attend the

107. *Proc. I.N.C.*, (1886-91), p. 77

108. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

109. *Ibid.*

110. *Report of Native Newspapers—Punjab, N.W.P., Oudh, etc., 1871-91.*



annual session of the Congress as a delegate from that particular constituency. In many cases, he would have to travel 3,000, to 4,000 miles in going to and returning from the Congress at his own expense. Besides, these territorial divisions, ample provision had been made for the adequate representation of the minorities through sectoral electoral divisions. One of these, for example, in Madras included the Anglo-Indian and European Association of Madras, another—the two local Muhammadan Associations, others the Chambers of Commerce, the Traders' Association and the University. Thus under these arrangements, 43 electoral divisions, territorial and sectoral, elected 93 delegates to the Congress, being at the minimum rate of 3 per million for the whole presidency. Hume was convinced that these electoral divisions, each watched over by a knot of the ablest and best men of the locality associated with all the most influential men of the division, and guided by the advice of the ablest men the province or that presidency contained, had been able to constitute a machinery which would constitute an important safeguard against illegal and unconstitutional action."<sup>111</sup>

111. Hume's speech at Allahabad in 1888.







## Reviews

**HISTORIOGRAPHY IN MODERN INDIA**, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1970, pp. 61 + IV. Price Rs. 12/-.

This small but excellent book consists of three lectures that Dr. Majumdar delivered at Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay in 1967. The first lecture is entitled, historiography in Europe and its influence on the writing of Indian history in the first half of the 19th century; the second describes the development of Indian historiography since the middle of the 19th century, and the third deals with the shortcomings in Indian historiography. The book also contains an Index.

The first lecture gives interesting facts about the evolution of European historiography and discusses the fundamental principles laid down by Niebuhr (1776-1831) and Ranke, and commends them to Indian historians. He points out some glaring errors and prejudices of European writers, particularly British, of Indian history. James Mill (1773-1836), for example, made very derogatory remarks about the ancient Hindus in his *History of British India*, and found fault with Sir William Jones for what he called 'exalting the Hindus in the eyes of their European masters....' Later writers were more objective and less prejudiced except where their imperialistic interests were concerned. The second lecture begins with the development of historiography based on a critical study of books and documents, and the discovery and study of old inscriptions and monuments by archaeological explorations and excavations. During this period Indian scholars began writing the history of their country. Pioneers among these were R. G. Bhandarkar and R. C. Dutt. The Asiatic Society of Bengal took up the work of editing and publishing works of history and culture in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian during this period. Sir Jadunath Sarkar was a pioneer in the field of scientific research in medieval Indian history. He was noted for his thoroughness and accuracy and his ideal was the highest imaginable. "He has justly been compared," writes



Dr. Majumdar, 'with Ranke, Niebuhr and Mommsen and hailed as the father of modern scientific historiography in India.' The learned scholar also gives the contributions of V. K. Rajwade, Ranade, Sardesai and others. He says that Indian historiography during the second half of the 19th century and in the 20th century is characterised by exploration of source-material and its critical evaluation and interpretation. Dr. Majumdar gives a brief account of the results of explorations and investigations and notices notable works produced during the period. The third lecture points out not only the short-comings but also the pit-falls of Indian historiography. He refers in this connection to the project of the history of the Indian Freedom Movement and rightly finds fault with the official interference, the policy of ignoring unpalatable evidence, and of the desire of upholding certain pet ideas or theories un-supported by facts. He ridicules the idea that history has a philosophy of its own, and says that its one and the only object is the pursuit of truth. This valuable book should be read by all those who are engaged or wish to engage themselves in historical research.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF INDIA AND SOME FOREIGN COUNTRIES, by H. P. Dubey. (Published by N. M. Thripathi Private Limited, Bombay), 1968, pp. XLIV + 655. Price Rs. 36/-.

Legal history is a comparatively neglected field of study in India. Lawyer or judge who is ignorant of the evolution of legal terms, concepts, and systems and the historical setting of the tiers and grades of courts, and procedures, substantive and adjective forms of law, will not be able to assess the implications and understand the significant shades of meaning they carry. Only by taking law back to the past and subjecting it to close analysis in the context and light of the original backdrop, that one who applies it to specific problems of the present and interprets it, can succeed. In searching for precedents and confirmatory points in previous judicial decisions, judges and lawyers generally do not make use of legal history. They only pick a bone and try to present it as a being.



The book under review supplies a much-felt want. It seeks to give a comprehensive survey of the legal history of India and some other countries. As it is a subject to be covered in a multi-volume work, the present study has, of necessity, become sketchy or even elementary.

The 'Introduction' for instance, smacks of shallowness. In twelve pages the author gives an outline of the origin and meaning of courts and makes a glut of hackneyed particulars regarding courts in several countries. For a layman this is redundant; for a lawyer and judge this is commonplace; and for a historical scholar it is nothing but heroics.

By no means the work can be said to be above reproach. The author does not display any sense of sequence of events or chronology, or is he offering a systematic treatment of the subject. The first chapter, for example, deals with the early English settlements in India and the second chapter 'Early English Courts and Justices' describes the beginning of British system of judicature in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. In both we do not find any new facts. Keith, Fawcett, Malabari and Love and Wilson, in their famous works have given all that is stated here and more. After narrating the early British judicature, it suddenly occurs to the author that before he proceeds he has to stop to look at the ancient and medieval Indian legal systems. Was it to evoke dramatic effect to the narrative that he adopted this method? That is certainly not part of the historian's craft.

In chapter three, "Law and Justice in Ancient India" Mr. Dubey discusses a mighty vast subject in less than six pages; he devotes fourteen pages for analysing the Mughal system of justice in the next chapter. His information about the judicial system in ancient India is incomplete and patchy. Of all the chapters in the book, this particular one is the most misleading and faulty. It is because he has not cared to consult standard works on the subject like Venkatachariar's *Hindu Judicial System* and Kane's *History of the Dharmasastras*. If references are an indication of the author's range of reading, the conclusion is forced upon us that the author is ill-equipped to write on this topic. Even a general work like the *The History and Culture of the Indian People* published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, would have given Mr. Dubey sufficient



information to write this chapter. He has nothing to say about the nature and content of ancient Indian law, its substantive and adjective aspects, its religious, ethical and sociological bearings; about how custom refused to be replaced by positive law, how in the determination and judgement of human conduct, *Maryada* or custom remained to the end the force behind the law and the power behind the throne. He has not a word to say of the blend of *abhyudaya* and *niśrēyasa*, the ideas of morality and metaphysics, worldly and other-worldly in Hindu law, of the sense of justice of ancient Indian kings, of the identification of *daṇḍa* with *dharma*.

If it is not fair to charge the author on account of this not stated by him, we can certainly do that for making unchecked and inaccurate statements. The fundamental mistake committed by him is that he took the ancient Indian society as a single whole which was equal before law. He forgets that law or *dharma* was administered according to the caste status or *jāti* of the individuals. The same punishment was not awarded to the Brahmins and Sudras for the same kind of offences. The worst sin of Mr. Dubey lies in his not verifying the truth of the facts he has taken from Halhed's *Code of Gentoo Law*. Most of them are of questionable authenticity.

Barring these early chapters, the others are balanced digests of existing literature on the concerned topics and periods. Chapters in Part II and III are relatively free of intellectual dropsy. They give a sound exposition of the growth of the judicial system in the Mofussils and the Presidencies. The English system of judicature was well established in India before the assumption of the Government of India direct by the British Crown. This is quite evident from chapters VIII to XII. But contrary to his own findings, Mr. Dubey says in his Preface "It was after 1858—the year which saw the departure of the East India Company from this country....that English law was, in substance, introduced into the Mofussil as well. through various pieces of legislation that emanated from the Viceroy's Legislative Council during the period 1859, which thus became an era of the influx into this country of English law and English institutions, which had, never before, pervaded our life as much as they did during this period". (p. xii). Such sweeping statements contribute only to lower the



worthiness of the author's own labour. They also go against facts of history. Even though we do not learn much new facts from this neatly produced volume, its compendiousness and comprehensiveness are favourable points which make it a success. Students of institutional history of India will certainly find in it, inspite of its uncritical approaches and contradictions, an acceptable text book.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

"CALENDAR OF PERSIAN CORRESPONDENCE", 1794-1795.  
National Archives of India, 1969. Price Rs. 25.

This is the eleventh volume of the series whose importance as a source of information for the history of the period, beginning from 1759, has been recognised by all scholars of the British period of Indian History. The volume under review has maintained the high quality of the series and contains the summary of 1671 letters beginning literally from the first day of the year 1794 and ending on the last day of the year 1795.

There is a long introduction at the beginning (pp. vii-xxxvi) drawing attention to the fact that "the correspondence calendared in this volume illustrates to a certain extent, the political problems, international relations, economic changes, social conditions and cultural forces that were at work during the period of transition between the decay of the old order and the rise of the new one. (p. xxxvi)." It is unfortunate that while discussing these different topics in detail no reference is given to the number of the letter or letters on which the conclusion is based. To cite an example, a reader would be very anxious to know on what letters the following very important general conclusions are based: "The close association of Hindus and Muslims in administration created favourable conditions for the development of cultural affinities between the two communities. The Hindus and the Muslims had evolved a *modus vivendi* which tended to foster unity among them. Out of their contacts emerged a new culture which incorporated ingredients of both and presented a certain unity and balanced harmony. Secularism and urbanity were the hall marks of this new culture." (pp. xxxiii-xxxiv).



The evidence available so far from other sources does not support this view and it is therefore all the more necessary to mention the documents which throw such favourable light on the relation between the two communities. This point should be kept in view while editing the subsequent volumes.

Reference may be made to two letters, as specimens, throwing light on lawless condition of Bengal in 1794-5.

1. A proclamation dated 22 March, 1794, informing the Rajas, Sardars and inhabitants of Assam that on the representation of Swargadev, the Raja of Assam, that a body of *barqandazes* from Bengal were committing excesses in his country, the Governor-General has decided to send a body of British troops to suppress the disturbances and re-establish the Raja's authority. (p. 55, letter No. 216).

2. Memorial presented by the bankers, merchants and other inhabitants of Calcutta namely (a large number of names almost all of them non-Bengalis) . . . . . to the following effect:

'Hitherto there existed flourishing business between Calcutta and other parts of the country like Murshidabad, Patna, and Banaras. Some traders insure their goods for safety while others do not. The trade is being disturbed by pirates who come in boats. attack and inflict injury on the petitioners' men and make off with their belongings (many concrete instances are given)' pp. 314-5, No. 1279.

Like previous volumes this one will also prove a very valuable source of the history of the period.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE MUGHAL AND SIKH RULERS AND THE VAISHNAVAS OF PINDORI by B. N. Goswamy and J. S. Grewal, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1969, pp. 447 + VIII. Price Rs. 50/-.

The above work is a collection of fiftytwo documents procured by the indefatigable authors from the *mahant* of Pindori in the Gurdaspur district of East Panjob. The facsimile of the



documents with the seals that they bear, their transcripts in *Nastaliq* and their English translation form the text. Copious notes, a fairly detailed history of the hermitage known as Pindori (Talabpur Pindori) are provided by the learned authors. The establishment of Pindori is an important Vaishnava hermitage and is known almost all over India. The founder of the *gaddi* was a celebrated Vaishnava saint, and he and his successors received recognition and grants of land and some other privileges from the Mughal governors and Sikh rulers of the Panjab. Although it may not be possible to share the excitement of the authors or command the style in which the work is presented, the documents granting these privileges are of much historical and religious value. The learned authors have rendered a great service to the cause of scholarship by publishing them together with their translations and helpful notes. The Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla too deserves commendation for giving encouragement and assistance in bringing out the volume. The printing, paper and get up of the book are good.

A. L. SRIVATSAVA

GUJARAT IN 1857 by Dr. R. I. Dharaiya, (Gujarat University, Ahmadabad 9, 1970, pages 180, Price Rs. 8/-).

The Post-Independence Epoch in India witnessed the growth of a volume of literature about the history of the freedom movement. Some began to trace it from the time of the beginnings of the Indian National Congress, while others started much earlier with the Great Rising of 1857. In a glow of enthusiasm almost each State in India prided in proclaiming its contribution to the freedom struggle. That the State of Gujarat did not lag behind in this regard is proved by this publication by the Gujarat University.

The causes usually attributed to this upsurge in Delhi are almost the same in respect of the States as where the political and military flare-up raged; only it was a question of shift of emphasis on some aspects and personalities. In the light of the wide-spread disaffection, the displeased chieftains and the affected



public were in a violent mood of tension, bidding their time for the revolt. In the nine chapters of the book, the author has given a vivid description, based on a detailed study of Government and other records (a list of which is given on pages 162 to 170) of those who headed the movement and the localities which were most affected. He is specially critical of the work of the Inam Commission which added its heavy weight to the discontent, because it insisted on the confiscation of the property, long enjoyed by some classes of people. The enhancement of the Salt Duty in 1844, the measure for standardising weights and measures, the rumour spread about salt defiled with the blood of the cow, the method of recruitment and the pay of the military sepoys, the disturbed feelings of Baiza Bai, the widow of Daulat Rao Scindia and that of Shahzada Firuz Shah, a direct descendant of Bahadur Shah, all fanned the flame, especially in the localities of Mahikantha, Panchamahar and Khera. A communal clash between the Muslims and the Parsis in May 1857 was given a political colouring at the time and holy men predicted the fall of the British Company. The native Press proved a powerful machinery to broadcast such news. Ahmadabad raised the standard of revolt though General Roberts nipped it in the bud. But, it was a purely temporary withdrawal to be followed by a wide-spread upheaval headed by the sepoys of Holkar and Scindia. It was betrayed by the Gaekwad of Baroda to the Resident who took timely action to suppress it and punish the ring leaders with the extreme penalty under the Law. It was followed by the revolt of 140 petty chiefs of Mahikantha and the severe action taken against them under instructions from Major Whitecock, the Political Agent of Mahikantha. The most outstanding contribution to the spread of revolt was by Tantya Tope. His clever stratagems and peregrinations give interesting reading in the context of the times; it was one more frantic attempt against the British rule in India. An able General of Nana Sahib, Tantya died a martyr's death at Sipri on the 18th April 1859, being sentenced, in the presence of Capt. Meade, to be hanged to death by a court martial (p. 112).

The account teems with the names of local heroes and the incidents connected with them; the stories of Nana Sahib, Tantya Tope, Maulavi Liyakatali, Illahabadi and Rango Bapuji and the leading part they played in the revolt provide interesting reading.



The vigilance of the British Officers at this critical hour saved the situation for the Company.

The title of the book can more appropriately be 'Gujarat and the Freedom Struggle of 1857'. A final chapter devoted to the discussion of the causes for the final failure of the risings would have enhanced the value of the book.

The sketch maps given help us to understand the localities affected by the upsurge and the track of the rebels. Appendices A to I (pages 140 to 151) give additional information about the arms seized and surrendered at the various places in Gujarat.

The book adds to our knowledge of facts and personalities of Gujarat connected with the Freedom struggle of 1857.

K. K. PILLAY.

ISTORIYA INDII V SREDNIYE VEKA, Eds. L. B. Alayev, K. A. Antonova and K. Z. Ashrafian, Moskva, 1968, pp. 726.

Soviet Indologists have in recent years brought out a series of four volumes covering the entire spectrum of Indian history from the earliest times to 1950s. The volume under review, dealing with period from the 6th century A.D. to the 17th century A.D., was the third to be published. The first on contemporary and the second on modern Indian history, were brought out in 1959 and 1961 respectively. The English version of the former was published in India by the Peoples Publishing House in 1964 giving rise to certain controversies.

The choice of the starting point, the 7th century in the northern India and the 6th century in the southern India has been deliberate. This was done to synchronise the medieval period in India with the Marxist conception of the stages in the progress of history which equates the beginnings of medieval age with the rise of feudalism.

The Marxist approach, as was to be expected, is evident in the treatment of the subject. The kings, the courtiers and battles take a back seat while the people, the socio-economic forces at work, the exquisite pieces of art occupy the stage. In



the process history pulsates with life, a virtue one does not always associate with a textbook of this dimension.

There are sixteen chapters and a conclusion. They are grouped under four headings: (1) Early Middle Ages, (2) Developed feudalism, (3) Late Middle Ages, The Mughal Empire and (4) Culture of Medieval India. There are several sub-headings.

In the first chapter a section has been devoted to the discussion of the religions then practised. Similarly, in the second chapter there is a detailed analysis of Islam, because it had become the second most popular religion in the country. It has been correctly emphasized that even after the acceptance of Islam, many people continued to follow old customs like *Sati* (p. 369). An interesting part of this chapter is the description of the socio-economic condition in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The emergence of new land relations consequent upon the induction of a new foreign elite has been ably explained. The rise of various sectarian movements has been narrated. It would have been interesting to relate them to the new economic forces that had been generated. For example, the rise of Sikhism in the Panjab in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was coincident with a spurt in agricultural production coupled with picking up of land trade in the late 14th and 15th centuries. The cessation of Mongol attacks as well as measures undertaken by Firuz contributed to this development. The merchants and producers after the new economic prosperity felt restive under the constraints imposed by the norms of the traditional Hindu society. Sikhism was, therefore, welcomed by the masses in the Panjab. Similarly, it is surprising that no mention of social character of the movement started by Vallabhācārya has been made. Like Sikhism, it was a social protest movement adopted by the traders and artisans in the early sixteenth century and became extremely popular in the Panjab, Western Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

The authors have given a fine exposition of different systems of land tenures and the land revenue policies of the Great Mughals. However, the statement that *Soyurghal* land-grants were meant only for the Muslims, needs to be revised in the light of documents published in the *Jogis of Jakhbar*. The Hindus were also its beneficiaries.



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The story of Indian commerce, internal as well as external, has been deservedly treated at some length. It takes into account the effect of the coming of the Europeans and the manner in which they established their control over Indian economy. This development prevented the transition from feudalism to capitalism and arrested the growth of a truly national bourgeoisie.

The conclusions of Mandelslo and Bernier that Indian traders lived poorly so as to evade the attention of local authorities, who tried to squeeze money from them, (p. 503) need not be accepted. This is unlikely because local traders like Virji Vorā were so rich that it was useless for them to try to hide their wealth.

On page 576, Nāmdeva the saint from Maharashtra and Narsimha Mehta of Gujarat have been ascribed to the thirteenth century. On page 594 the former is said to have lived in the fourteenth and the latter in the fifteenth century. The confusion could have been avoided by giving the dates.

The reviewer has two more points to make. First Shershāh has not been given his due. It should not be forgotten that he was the first Muslim ruler in north India, who really gave 'good government' to the people. Apart from this, his reforms in the land revenue system really prepared the ground for Akbar's experiments. Secondly, it is high-time to use Jain sources for the reconstruction of medieval Indian history. They contain valuable data regarding social, economic and political life.

The reviewer would wish that the authors had high-lighted India's contacts with Central Asia for Central Asian archives and libraries contain material that are unknown to scholars outside the region. This statement is amply borne out by the following publications from Tashkent on the subjects: (1) Baikova, *Rol sredney Azii v. Russko-Indiiskoi torgovle*, XVII-XVIII vv; (2) Nizamutdinov, *Iz Istorii sreineaziatsko-Indiiskikh Otnoshenii*; (3) Rasul-zade, *Iz Istorii Sredne-Aziatskoi-Indiiskikh svyazei vtoroi poloviny XIX-nachala XX veka*.

The authors have done well to provide detailed indexes for proper names, place names, local terms and nationalities, castes and tribes. There is also a comprehensive bibliography. Un-



doubtedly these will be of great help to the general reader as well as researchers.

In conclusion, the Soviet scholars deserve great many thanks for producing this important study of medieval India.

DR. SURENDRA GOPAL

A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF MODERN INDIA, by Charles H. Heimsath and Surjit Mansingh. (Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1971, pp. xii + 559. Price Rs. 30/-).

The book is the outcome of the endeavours of two well qualified authors; one has worked on the subject for a decade particularly on the documents of the Government while the other brings to bear a practical outlook through her experience in the Indian Foreign Service. The book emphasises the foreign relations of India during post-Independence period and indicates the modified approach to international relations from what was followed by the British as masters of India. The authors lay emphasis on the explosive nature of the relationship with border countries, especially Pakistan and China and assess the successes as well as failures of the policy pursued. By virtue of her geographical position and natural resources, India plays a vital role in the comity of nations especially at a critical period in world history when new states are being evolved consequent upon the thirst for independence and anti-colonial freedom struggles. Naturally the sharp dividing line between the developed and under-developed states has to be borne in mind in order to set right the economic imbalance. After the dismemberment of the British colonies and dependencies from the mother country a commonwealth scheme was set up in order to face the problems like emigration, equal treatment of natives and racial discriminations. In a series of Imperial Conferences, much common ground was covered as policies of defence, economic freedom, tariff prospects, emigration and the rest. Generally the British legacy of conservatism, respect for tradition and rule of law provided ready model to copy, though in a later period, the advocates of new initiatives in foreign policy clashed with those reared in old traditions.

The book is in three parts (19 chapters) covering the entire field of India's foreign relationship to the end of the Nehru period.



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The second chapter details the outcome of India's attachment to the Commonwealth, especially during the two World War-periods. Chapter three explains the significance of the Non-alignment policy set forth by Nehru in the words "We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have led, in the past, to world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale." (p. 58). With the short-term objective of containing Chinese power or limiting its effectiveness in Tibet, India negotiated an agreement for eight years on Tibet in 1954. Nehru's policy set forth the five principles of co-existence known as *Panchsheel* doctrine and specific articles relating to Indo-Tibetan relations is explained. The latest diplomatic move of a treaty with U.S.S.R. has to be studied in the present context of the need to face the threat from Pakistan and China. The full implication of this policy in its practical working is given in Chapter III. Equally noteworthy is the report on the emergence of Indian foreign policy in the United Nations. The eluding head-ache is the relation with Pakistan (Chapter V) and with China (Chapter XVII). It is critically examined in all its bearings with particular reference to Indian Defence policy. In the intervening chapters India's foreign relationships with other emerging new states of Africa and with America, Japan, U.S.S.R. and others are systematically examined, particularly in connection with the aid given, technical and financial, to run enterprises and projects in India on very big scales like the one at Bokaro and at Rourkela. The concluding chapter (XIX) on the evolution of Indian policy in the United Nations provides a balanced assessment of the collaboration in peace-making operations, continuing arms debates, the functioning of the U.N.C.T.A.D., UNESCO and GATT. The authors feels that anti-colonialism and peaceful co-existence were the two major objectives of Indian U.N. diplomacy in the 1950's. They rightly conclude: "In the first half of the 1960's the Nehru Era faded away by degrees" (page 524). The Chinese debacle, "territorial losses suffered in Ladak, the increased concentration of Chinese power in Tibet and even the demonstrated weakness of the NEFA frontier" (page 474) paved the way for Nehru's physical and mental break-down. The authors rightly leave the post-Nehru era to be described by future historians, because in no other sphere do events and policies change so dramatically as in the diplomatic field.



The book is a well-documented publication covering the wide field of the foreign diplomacy of modern India. It furnishes a balanced and critical estimate of India's policy. The index and bibliography are well prepared and the book is admirably produced. A few errors of print have appeared as on line 8, p. 524. But on the whole the authors deserve much credit for this publication.

K. K. PILLAY

'A HISTORY OF KARNATAKA', edited by Dr. P. B. Desai, published by Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar; 1970, price Rs. 20.

A happy and welcome development in the field of Indian historical studies in recent years is the appearance of fairly detailed works on the history of different regions of the country. It is not possible to get all the historical details about all the regions of the country even in comprehensive works; and therefore the need for and usefulness of regional histories, as the one under review, can hardly be exaggerated. But the usefulness of these histories depends upon the degree of objectivity employed in narrating them as there is always the danger of the past glory of the author's own State being projected beyond the point justified by the available evidence. The book under review written by Dr. P. B. Desai, Dr. Shrinivasa Ritti and Dr. B. R. Gopal to unfold before us the history of Karnataka from the pre-historic age to the post-independence period has happily overcome this obsession.

The book is divided into eleven chapters of which the first is introductory and gives a brief survey of the archaeological and literary sources of different kinds for the history of Karnataka. The second chapter with a short account of the physical features of Karnataka deals with the pre-historic and epic period of the history of the State. Besides noting the discovery of several Early Stone Age tools and specimens of the Middle Stone Age, microlithic and New Stone Age industries the account draws attention to the reported suggestion that 'Karnataka had commercial contact



with the people of the Indus Valley in c. 3000 B.C.' and that 'the gold found in the Harappan sites were imported from the gold mines of Karnataka' (p. 34). That the Indus Valley Civilization was not confined to north-western India and that it had contacts with some other regions are now realised as more and more excavations are done outside the Indus valley area. One should like to have more evidence on the relations of the Indus valley people with Karnataka. Regarding the question on the etymology of *Karnata*, the suggestion that this name is the Sanskritised form of the original word *Kannada* which means elevated territory (*Karu*-high, elevated and *nadu*-country) is accepted (pp. 43-44).

The nine chapters that follow review the political fortunes of the Karnataka country. Some later inscriptions record that Chandragupta Maurya migrated to Sravanabelagola in Karnataka along with his preceptor Bhadrabahu. That parts of Karnataka were under Asoka is evident from his edicts at Maski, Koppal, Siddapura, Brahmagiri and Jatinga Ramesvara. After the fall of the Mauryan empire considerable parts of the Deccan and South India came under the Satavahanas and some members of the collateral line of this dynasty seem to have had close contacts with Karnataka. During the third century A.D. the Chutus, who were probably feudatories under the Satavahanas rose to power and two of their inscriptions have been found. The first major dynasty of Karnataka that played a significant role in South Indian history was that of the Kadambas. Their history is briefly dealt with. This is followed by an account of the Gangas of Talakkad and an appendix on Salivahana Saka.

The period from c. 500 to 1200 A.D. was one of intense political activity. It saw the rise and fall of the Chalukyas of Badami and Kalyana, the Rashtrakutas and the Kalachuries. The history of these dynasties is discussed in three chapters. The history of the Seunas who started their political career in the 10th century and came to prominence in the second half of the 12th century is dealt with in a separate chapter. While the Seunas were flourishing in the territories to the north of the Tungabhadra, the Hoysalas were emerging in the southern portions of Karnataka. The account of the Hoysalas given in this volume not only deals with the political history of the dynasty but also touches upon its contribution to art and religion. The striking feature of the chapter on the Vijaya-



nagara empire is the rejection of the theory regarding the Telugu origin of the empire. The authors of this volume have collected all available evidence in support of the Karnataka origin of what developed later as the glorious empire of Vijayanagara and cogently argue out the case. The view is acceptable; but one would like to have more positive evidence to clinch the issue. This is a subject on which much scholarly effort has been spent and historians have taken opposite stands. The treatment of the history of the great empire is full.

The history of the period following the fall of the Vijayanagara empire is also narrated, but in a summary way. We are briefly told about the Aravidu kings, Keladi rulers, Wodeyars of Mysore and the spread of the freedom movement in the State.

The book is thus a survey of South Indian History so far as it relates to the regions now in the State of Mysore. It is sufficiently illustrated with plates and six maps, the latter showing the political peripheries of different kingdoms at different periods. At the end of each chapter is furnished a genealogical table of the dynasty discussed. The book will be of use for a study of the historical evolution of Karnataka and its fortunes successively under different dynasties.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE: THE INDIAN YEARS—  
1796-1827 by R. D. Choksey, (Popular Prakashan, Bombay,  
1971, pp. xiv + 465, Price Rs. 60.

This is a biographical study of the political career of Mountstuart Elphinstone in India, based mainly on the Elphinstone Journals and other papers. Reaching India early in life, he rose to prominence in the service of the Company ending his career here as Governor of Bombay.

The Indian years of Elphinstone is a subject which demands thorough study and evaluation, as to him, the architect of British power in Western India, goes the credit for understanding and appreciating India and the values she stood for. That does not mean that India owes a debt of gratitude, as Prof. Choksey contends, to



him for his legislation and able government; the part played by Elphinstone in building up the edifice of British empire cannot be ignored.

Several attempts have been made in recent years to throw fresh light on the problem; Prof. Choksey's is the latest. It is not, to be sure, a critical analysis of the thoughts and activities of the person concerned, but a faithful reproduction of the data contained in the hitherto ill-utilized journals and papers of Elphinstone kept in the India Office Library, London. The author admits, not without a sense of inappropriateness and guilt, "I could not resist the temptation to quote Elphinstone's letters and passages from his journal which have perhaps made this biography rather dull to the reader. No life of Elphinstone can be complete without a thorough study of these journals". It is a pity that the author has been carried away by the impression that by quoting passages and reproducing verbatim parts of papers of Elphinstone, he has been making "a thorough study of these journals". He has evidently not studied them in the manner of a critical and objective investigator; even for an ordinary reader the book will appear defective and lacking in dependable scholarship. In providing a narrative of events in chronological order, couched in the words of the original sources, the author does not care a whit to check the credibility or validity of the materials by comparing them with evidence supplied by other founts, contemporary or later. He says "Instead of publishing in a separate volume his vast correspondence and interesting extracts from his journals I have tried to tell this story, as much as possible, in his own words. Scholars will, therefore, be able to draw upon the original material, administrative, political and social". (p. vi). Had he followed the wiser path which he eschewed, it would have been a definite contribution to research aid, certainly more valuable than this scissors-and-paste biographical narrative.

The treatment of the subject is also not systematic and it may be perhaps due to the abundance of new material that he forgets the thread of argument, and unconnected facts, breaking sequences, rush forward in an attempt to come first. The result is often a jumble of interesting facts.



By quoting passages long and short, profusely without any kind of referencing, the author has transmuted the valuable original source material into undependable secondary information. As things stand, there is no way of checking the authenticity of the statements, and it is sad to see words, said to be of Elphinstone's being wasted. In short, the only merit and strength of this book lie in the unidentifiable quotations from Elphinstone's journals which were made pejorative by the author by stripping them of their originality.

In twenty four chapters, Elphinstone's family history and official career in India have been narrated. The Early Years (1796-1808), The Kabul Mission (1808-1809), Resident at Poona (1801-1818), settlement of the Deccan (1818-1819) and Governor of Bombay (1819-1827) are the main divisions under which these Indian Years of Elphinstone are dealt with.

The story unfolds itself through the writings of Elphinstone himself as we have already noted. Other sources are totally ignored. In a study like this other primary and secondary sources can be ignored only at the peril of the author. For instance the section on Kabul Mission is distressingly lacking in thoroughness and critical analysis and is devoid of crucial data regarding the political motive and policy of Britain and other powers involved in the drama. A study of a plethora of sources alone can bring out the different aspects of the problem in a convincing manner. But when Elphinstone narrated his own story, certainly he had no necessity to refer to other sources!

The whole narrative suffers from imbalance, absence of discretion and necessary economies. Very often for giving silly and inconsequential details which have no bearing on the subject under discussion, the author lavishes precious pages. See for example the arid description of the long journey undertaken by Elphinstone from Calcutta to Poona (pp. 31-38). He has not taken care to check the spellings of placenames and common names and has put them in the text as he found them in old documents; e.g. to mention a few, Nandyroodg, Copaldoorge (p. 33) and Tungbudra (p. 34). Moreover Prof. Choksey fails to integrate the materials he has collected into a coherent narrative. Passages picked from the documents refuse to join hands with his own



stock. The result is that many a passage turn out to be ludicrously mongrel, e.g. "He was suddenly attacked by violent pain in my liver side". (p. 48). "He was advised by the General that 'he thought I might go first to one place and then to the other'" (p. 56). "Because of his love of reading 'my mind continually wanders and I fall into endless reveries'" (p. 438). Such blots can be seen in every page of the book. Misprints and stylistic flaws too have a share in making the book lick the dust.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

TRAVELS OF GURU NANAK by Dr. Surendra Singh Kohli.  
Publication Bureau, Punjab University, Chandigarh, 1969.  
pp. 200 + VIII. Price Rs. 15/-.

This work too was published under the auspices of the Panjab University, Chandigarh, on the occasion of 500th Anniversary of Guru Nanak. As its title indicates, it is the book of Guru Nanak's travels, which covered, as the author says, the whole of India including Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Ceylon. Nanak is also said to have visited Tibet and China, Baluchistan, Aden, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Azarbaijan, Iran, Afghanistan; and Africa including Egypt, Sudan and Abyssinia. The book gives six appendices and a bibliography. The printing and finish of the book are good.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND INDIAN TRADITION, by Dharampal. Pp. lxiv + 122. Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Varanasi, 1971. Price, cloth bound, Rs. 30; Paper-back, Rs. 15/-.

This book is primarily a collection of original documents relating to resistance to the imposition of a tax on houses and shops by Regulation XV of 1810 on the part of the people of Benaras, Patna, Saran, Murshidabad and Bhagalpur. The author calls the resistance a Civil Disobedience Campaign, a precursor to that launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920-21, and undertook this



tedious task of collecting documents not from a spirit of purely historical research but to remove two erroneous impressions entertained by many, including himself, namely, that the Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements were of very recent origin in India and Gandhi had himself derived them from Thoreau, Tolstoy, Ruskin, and other Europeans (no mention is made of Shri Arabindo who wrote fifteen years before, in the well-known Daily, *Vande Mataram*, a series of articles, later published in the form of a book, describing in minute detail all the items which were later adopted by Mahatma Gandhi).

The episode, a chance discovery of which inspired the author to undertake this publication, is described in detail in the well-known *History of India* by Mill and Wilson which was a prescribed text for Degree Examination in the Calcutta University for many years in this century. The author is evidently ignorant of this work as he does not include it in the long list of sources on pp. lxii-lxiv. The major part of the long Introduction of nearly forty pages as well as the Foreword of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan discuss general political principles which have not any immediate bearing on the episode treated in the volume, except the short account of the genesis and nature of the agitation on the part of the people. The author quotes a passage from Gandhiji's writings to show that he did not borrow the idea of Civil Disobedience from the Europeans mentioned above, but regarded passive resistance as a traditional mode of protest against authority in India. The author spoke of it to other followers and friends of Gandhiji who were however incredulous, and in order to convince them, the author undertook a research and found the first hint of the events described by him in S. B. Chaudhuri's book *Civil Disturbances during the British rule in India*. The author is unaware of a more convincing argument that could be advanced in his favour. Once Gandhiji met a group of young Bengalis imprisoned for violent activities against the Government, and tried in vain to win them over to his method of non-violent passive resistance, for they persisted in saying that they had no faith in the efficacy of non-violent passive resistance. Gandhiji then reminded them that it was a great Bengali, Chaitanyadeva, who successfully adopted this method to force the Kazi of Nadiya to withdraw his order forbidding *Kirtan* songs in public streets. Another instance is furnished



by the passive resistance of the cultivators of Indigo in Bengal against the Indigo-planters, which was equally successful.

The author, whatever his motive, has rendered a good service to the cause of history by publishing these documents, consisting of the correspondence between the various governmental authorities. But curiously enough, he has not published the petitions of the people to the authorities which best describe the nature of the agitation and the spirit behind it. These are published in Appendix VIII of Vol. VII of the *History of British India* by Mill and Wilson.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

REPUBLICS IN ANCIENT INDIA (c. 1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.), by J. P. Sharma: (E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1968, pp. XVI + 278).

That the *R̥ṣi* composers of the Vedas have in their outpourings thrown some light on the social and political life of India in such a remote age is evident from the interpretation of the Vedas by eminent Vedic scholars like Rhys Davids, D. R. Bhandarkar, Prof. A. S. Altekar, Dr. B. C. Law, R. C. Majumdar, C. V. R. Rao, and others. It is notable that in the light of the evidence available in Buddhist literature also Prof. Rhys Davids has recorded some sixty-five years ago the existence of nine republican clans in North and North-eastern India. Direct representation of the popular will, in the type of Government evolved, was experimented upon in ancient India more or less in the same manner as it was in ancient Greece. The author of this book, speaks of the limited monarchies and the four different forms of aristocratic Government functioning during the Vedic and Buddhistic periods. He ably supplements the findings of earlier scholars on this subject by examining untapped sources and recording his views about each Republic in the various aspects of its life like origin and location, government and organisation, judicial procedure, foreign relations as well as political history. He confines the subject matter of the study to "the problems connected with the constitutional development of Vedic institutions, the question whether or not the Vedic monarchy was elective, the manner in which the Vedic aristocracies were organised, the relationship



between the Vedic and the north-eastern republics, the controversial issue whether or not the *vidatha* was the earliest folk-assembly of the Indo-Aryans, the method by which the north-eastern republics were administered, the constant struggle that went on between the republicanists and the monarchists, what wrought the fall of the republics, and some other allied topics of historical importance." The terms looming large in this context are the *Vis* (democratic Assembly) *Samiti* and *Sabha*, *Gaṇa* and *Vidatha* and the copious quotations from the original texts regarding their functions. The *Brahmana* texts exhibit a tendency to prefer the monarchical form of Government and are ill-disposed towards the Republicans, the Licchavis, the Sakyas, Mallas etc., whom they do not even casually mention. In order to avoid falling in line with these Brahminical concepts of *Varṇāśrama* and the King's duty and yet to preserve the *Dharma* and to preserve their identity, some republican clans moved north-east. The maps on pages 1 and 131 show the names of the kingdoms. This Brahminical propensity, added to the hard life in the hilly and marshy tracts which some of these clans occupied, the frequent border and River water (*Rōhini*) disputes, the inherent weakness of the Republican type, like personal ambition and party politics added to the land hunger of kings, Ajatasatru of Magadha and Vidudabha of Kosala, culminated in the collapse of the republics and the absorption of their territory in the kingdoms of the ambitious monarchs.

Chapter II (pp. 15 to 80) outlines the concepts of the Republican type followed by the non-monarchical Government in Vedic India. Copious quotations are furnished from the Vedas regarding the functioning of the *Vis*, the elective and selective monarchies, the oligarchical form of *Rājanyās* or clan heads; the quorum for the *Samiti* and *Sabha*, their judicial and administrative powers and the functioning of the *Vidatha*, its character, composition, and the role it played in Vedic life (studied from the 40 hymns quoted on pages 63 to 68). The author feels that *Vidatha* was a local congregation, performing mainly religious functions.

In Chapters 3 and 4 the famous Licchavis of Vaisāli heading the Vajjian confederacy and their form of republican government is analysed while subsequent chapters deal with the *Vidēhās* of



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Mithila—the Nayakhatiyas of Kundagama (in which Mahavira was born), the Śākyaś of Kapilavastu (in which Sidhartha was born), the Koliyās of Ramagama and the lesser known republics, Moriyas of Pippalivana, the Bulis of Allakappa and the Kalamaś of Kesaputta. The eleventh chapter concludes the discussion with a summary outlining the causes for the fall of the Republics. Discord among the republicans was the primary cause, while the imperialist actions of monarchies constituted a secondary cause.

The Appendices, the bibliography and the index at the end are very useful. It is no easy task to differ from the views of the various scholars of Hindu and Buddhist lores; the author has successfully done so by interpreting terms in a new perspective though he owns that some may be hypothetical subject to further research.

It gives very interesting reading and surprising facts about the early history of Vedic India. The author has handled the subject in a systematic and unique manner becoming of a research scholar. The book is sure to be of great service to students of Indian history interesting in the concepts of political institutions of the early India of Vedic age. Quality of production of the book is good.

K. K. PILLAY

LIFE OF GURU NANAK, by Sarjit Singh Bal. Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1969, Pp. 283 + VIII. Price Rs. 20/-.

This is a biography of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, written and published on the occasion of his 500th Birth Day Anniversary under the auspices of the Panjab University. It is divided into 21 chapters describing the activities of Guru Nanak from his birth to his death. The most interesting chapter deals with the foundation of the Sikh Church. Whether Guru Nanak really wanted to establish a new religion is not quite certain. The book also contains helpful notes and a bibliography. It is a well



written work, but it gives little that is not already known to scholars. Nevertheless it is a welcome addition to the literature on the subject.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

HISTORY OF THE HINDU COLONISATION AND HINDU CULTURE IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Published by the University of Jabalpur, Pages 39, 1970. Price Rs. 15/-.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar is an internationally famous scholar and the Doyen of our historians. In 1965, he delivered a course of four lectures at the University of Jabalpur and these have been printed in the brochure under review. In the introductory portion of his first lecture on Burma, he has appropriately included Greater India in the scope of Indology and tells us how large number of Indians settled in South-East Asia and carved out kingdoms in those places in the early centuries of the Christian era. They came among a people who spoke a babel of tongues and lived more or less in the neolithic age. Traders, missionaries and adventurers from India settled among these semi-civilized people, took wives from them and then grafted elements of Hindu culture on the primitive culture of the local people. Thus gradually Sanskrit language and literature, the art of writing, religion social ideas and customs, law, administrative system, art and architecture were introduced among these people.

According to Burmese tradition, a Śākya prince from Kapilavastu first set up a kingdom in the Upper Irrawady. Subsequent waves of immigrations arrived and new kingdoms were set up in Arakan and Sriksetra (near Prome). The indigenous tribes of the Pyu and the Kanran were subjected to Indian influences at an early date. Internecine struggle between the two tribes ensued, in which the Kanrans were worsted and migrated to Arakan, while the Pyus established a powerful kingdom in the third century A.D. with its capital at Śriksetra (mod. Hmawza, 10 km to the East of Prome). Some of their inscriptions in Pyu and Sanskrit languages dating from the 7th and early 8th century



A.D. reveal the limits of Pyu authority, their religious proclivities and cultural sympathies. Dr. Majumdar then describes the connexion of the Pyus with the Mons, also known as Talaiṅgs who lived to the South of the Pyus in Lower Burma called Ramañña-deśa; they had also settlements in northern Thailand and followed the practices of Hīnayāna Buddhism. The Hinduized Pyus were then subjugated in the 10th and 11th centuries by the barbarous Mrammas who set up their capital at Pagan. One of its outstanding rulers was Aniruddha. His reign is a water-shed in Burmese history. He defeated Manuha, the Mon-king of Thaton and brought the royal prisoner to his capital at Pagan, along with monks, artisans, Buddhist scriptures and relics. Dr. Majumdar has truly observed, "Never before was a conquering power so completely captivated by the vanquished. Even the classical example of Rome and Greece was surpassed." The dynasty of Aniruddha ruled till 1287, when Burma was conquered by Kublai Khan. The country gradually disintegrated into small principalities. The internecine struggle between the kingdoms of Pegu and Ava convulsed Burma for a long time till the advent of Alompra, who united Burma under his leadership. The rulers of this dynasty fought against the British government in the 19th century, till Burma was annexed to the British empire.

Dr. Majumdar has discussed how the Brāhmanical religion introduced early by the Indians gradually made room for Hīnayāna Buddhism. It led to the growth of a voluminous Pāli literature, art and architecture, fresco-paintings, which uninfluenced by India in a remarkable way.

The second lecture of Dr. Majumdar deals with Kambuja (Cambodia). The first Indian settlement was in the region lying to its South in Cochi-China. In Chinese annals, the new kingdom has been located in Funan. The first Hindu ruler of this place was Kaundinya, who married the daughter of a local chieftain and introduced elements of Indian civilisation in the third century A.D. Sanskrit inscriptions of the fifth century A.D. found in Funan indicate the prevalence of the Indian art of writing and the progress of Indian culture in both Funan and Cambodia. The same phenomenon is also observed in both Malaya and Thailand, where Hindu colonies sprang up at about the same time, as archaeology.



and epigraphy attest. In the sixth century A.D., Funan passed under the control of its northern neighbour, the kingdom of Cambodia, and lost its individuality. Cambodia's first great king was Jayavarman II (9th century A.D.). The country had then the good fortune to possess a series of powerful rulers like Indravarman, Yaśovarman, Sūryavarman II and Jayavarman VII. At various times they extended their authority over Lower Burma, northern Malaya, Campā, etc. As in the case of Burma, so in the case of Cambodia, Kublai Khan established his thralldom over this country for sometime, but its days of glory were passed. In the days of its glory, it had become a small replica of India in religion, literature, art and architecture philosophy and way of life. Angkor Thom and Angkor Vat are its gift to the world. Unfortunately this wonderful country with its wonderful civilization was subjected to ruthless inroads by the Annamites and the Thais, till Cambodia was forced to throw herself into the arms of the French in 1854.

The third lecture of Dr. Majumdar deals with the kingdom of Campā, which roughly corresponds to South Vietnam. The kingdom of Campā was founded in the second century A.D. and its first known ruler was Śrī Hāra, who is believed by Dr. Majumdar to be the same person whom the Chinese annalists call K'iu-lien. The first Sanskrit inscription of Campā is that of Vo-canḥ which was issued in the second or third century A.D. Dr. Majumdar gives a brief outline of the history of this kingdom from this time onwards, stating how the successors of K'iu-lien often attacked the Chinese territory in the North, thus initiating a struggle with the North, thus initiating a struggle with the North which continued for about one thousand years.

One of Campā's earlier rulers was Bhadravarman who ruled from Amarāvaī. Other parts of the kingdom included Vijaya, Kauṭhāra and Pānduraṅga. There was frequent foreign invasion from North Vietnam, Cambodia and even from the distant island-empire of the Śailendras. Chronic rebellion and political instability continued for long years, although Harivarman IV was able, for a time, to restore order. Another able ruler of Campā was Śrī Jaya Harivarmadeva (12th century), but his country was occupied 1190 A.D. by Jayavarman VII, the Grand Monarch of Cambodian



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history, for nearly 30 years. Campā however regained independence subsequently and bravely faced the invasion of Kublai Khan, but it succumbed to Annamite invasion in 1471. The Cams were continually pressed towards the far South and in 1822, the last Cam king, unable to bear the oppression of the Annamites, left his petty State in the extreme South of Campā and sought refuge in Cambodia. Campā was Hinduized to a considerable extent and a major part of its Cam population retain their Hinduism till today. In the days of their greatness, they followed, to speak in general terms, Indian religious systems, studied assiduously various branches of Indian literature, moulded their life according to the social institutions of India, introduced the Indian art of writing, besides Indian art and architecture.

The last lecture of Dr. Majumdar deals with Suvarṇadvīpa or Indonesia. He begins with a reference to the Sanskrit records discovered in Borneo (Kalimantan), dated about c. 400 A.D., and those of West Java (c. 450 or beginning of the sixth century A.D.), and then introduces us to the history of Ho-ling and to the Śailendras, whose history he has done so much to elucidate. In the early part of the 10th century, the centre of political gravity shifts to East Java. Here was established, in the last decade of the 13th century, the Hinduized state of Majapahit, which held sway over a large part of the Malayo-Indonesian world for nearly two centuries, till it was overwhelmed by Islamic invaders in the beginning of the 16th century. Many Hindus fled from Java and, together with the Hindu culture, they found shelter in the island of Bali, which was Indianised about 1000 years before this catastrophe. Hinduism is still a living force in Bali. Java and Sumatṛa constituted in the ancient period, a miniature-India in many respects and Indian religious systems; even its literature, art and architecture, art of writing, law, social institutions, etc., flourished here in massive grandeur for over 1000 years and they hold their sway in Bali even today. Dr. Majumdar's mastery of the subject is shown by the fact that within the compass of only 39 pages, he has presented the history and culture of four countries of South-East Asia in a nut-shell, which, in itself, is a remarkable feat.

H. B. SARKAR.



THE *TARIKH-I-BANGLA-I-MAHABAT JANGI* of Yusuf Ali Khan. Persian Text, edited with Notes and an Introduction by Dr. Abdus Subhan. Published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, pp. 205+47+IX, 1970. Price Rs. 25/-.

The Asiatic Society has placed all students of Bengal history under great obligation by publishing the above contemporary work, and the editor Dr. Abdus Subhan has rendered an equally great service to the cause of scholarship by collating and establishing the text on the basis of six manuscripts of this work found in different Manuscripts Libraries, and editing it with notes and by contributing a scholarly introduction. The *Tarikh-i-Bengal-i-Mahabat Jangi* was written by a contemporary and an eye-witness of most of the incidents described by him. The work gives many new facts, not found in other contemporary works. Although the author Yusuf Ali was closely related to Alivardi Khan and his predecessors whom the latter had displaced (Sarfaraz Khan), yet he wrote his work with commendable detachment. At the same time he did not shrink from describing the shortcomings and even misdeeds of some members of Alivardi Khan's household. That was why Sir Jadunath Sarkar welcomed this work with the remark that "the value of this history lies in its authenticity." Other writers of the period, such as, Salimulla, author of *Tarikh-i-Bangal*, Karam Ali author of *Muzaffar Namah*, and Gulam Husain Salim, author of *Riyazut-Salatin*, appear sketchy in comparison with Yusuf Ali Khan. Ghulam Husain Khan, the author of *Siyarul-Mutakherin* too, like the above-mentioned writers, was indebted to Yusuf Ali for his detailed and accurate account of Bengal history of this period. The learned editor has pointed out discrepancies in the six Mss. of this work, and has prepared his text after a close study and comparison of them all. He gives a description of merits and demerits of all these copies. The editor has constructed a rough sketch of the author's life-story, and has given a brief account of his other works, besides a detailed description of Ghulam Husain's indebtedness to him. He has rectified the errors committed by Charles Rieu, the Cataloguer of the British Museum Persian Mss., and by Jonathan Scott in his English translation of it. He calls Scott's translation a mis-translation, as it is faulty and misleading. He has also pointed out the mistakes of Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the latter's *Bengal*



*Nawabs*. He has also shown the mistakes in the English translation of this work by Arthur Hughes. The learned editor has devoted five years to the scholarly work of collation and edition of the *Tarikh-i-Bangla-i-Mahabat Jangi*. We look forward to the publication of the authentic English translation of this work by the learned editor.

A. L. SRIVASTAVA

RIAZUL ISLAM: *INDO PERSIAN RELATIONS*; pp. xxiv—287; Iranian Cultural Foundation; published by order of H. I. M. Aryamahar Shahanshah of Iran; 1970; price not stated.

Although the name of the book embossed on the binding and on its spine is simply *Indo-Persian Relations*, the subject is more correctly stated in its sub-title, "A study of the Diplomatic Relations between the Mughal Empire and Iran." And even that does not do full justice to the connotation as, different to most histories written with the northern periphery, it gives a fairly correct interpretation of the relations of Iran with the Bahmanis and Bahmani Succession States. The book begins with the death of Timur, and taking the reader through the intricacies of the relationship between Babur and the early Safawis, Humayun's varied relations with Shah Tahmasp, the relations of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb with Shah 'Abbas I and his descendants, bringing history down to the climactic invasion of Nadir Shah, his annexation of large parts of the Panjab by the Treaty of Shalimar, and the helplessness of the later Mughals in the face of Iran. There is a chapter on the interplay of literature, art and commerce between the two countries. The book ends with eleven Appendices, a Bibliography covering 16 pages and a good Index. There is just one map of "India, Iran and the neighbouring countries", but the period indicated by political divisions is not shown while some of the entries are not correct. There are six good plates, one in colour, depicting the relationship between the Safawis on the one hand and Humayun, Jahangir and Shah Jahan on the other.

Although the theme of the book is the relationship between Mughals and Iran, a third party, that of the Uzbeks has got to be dealt with, and the learned author has sifted their history from the authorities at his disposal. It was not merely two races, the



Chaghatais and Şafawis whose relationship mattered but also the Turanians of what is now called Uzoekistan, who had to be reckoned with. Babar's original home was an Uzbek town, Fergana and as the learned author stresses, there was another affinity between the two and that was one of religion. For while the Şafawis were staunch Shī'ah, both the Chaghatais and the Uzbeks were Sunnis. The game which the Mughals played was naturally one of alliance with the Uzbeks although the Şafawis under Tahmasp, 'Aobas the Great and 'Abbas II were personalities to be reckoned with.

The author has given a concise account of Humayun's flight from India to Iran after his defeat at Chausa and Qannauj. He says that from the beginning the Shah tried to convert Humayun to Shī'ism and "even threatened to immolate him with all his followers" if he did not accept that religion. He then recounts Jauhar's story of the Qāzī of the capital presenting him with three papers, "the last of which was particularly objectionable." He says that in the end Humayun had to recite its contents in the presence of the Shah "thus signifying his acceptance of the Shī'ah faith." As a matter of fact it is nowhere mentioned that any of these papers contained the Shī'ah creed and like Sukumar Ray (*Humayun in Persia*) the author only "reconstructs" the story according to circumstantial evidence. It is also noticeable that the chronology of these important events is not uniformly related by our authorities, Jauhar Aftābchī and Bāyazīd Bayāt.

It is strange that while Qandahar was regarded as "the Key to the Empire of India" by the Şafawī poet who sang of the victory of Shah 'Abbas II, the struggle for the great fort did not come in the way of friendly relations between the Mughals and the Şafawis. As the author says, "the outstanding feature of the Indo-Persian rivalry over Qandahar was prestige, and prestige was vital for the medieval Asian monarch. The occupation of Qandahar by the Şafawis was followed by pseudo-apology on the part of the victor and the continuation of "friendly relations between the two empires." Thus when Qandahar fell to the Persians in June 1622 Shah 'Abbas I sent two envoys to Jahangir with a message "full of casuistic explanations and assurances of friendship." The same process was followed by Shah 'Abbas II after his reconquest of Qandahar in February 1649, when the Shah sent a letter to Shah



Jahan "offering an explanation of his invasion and expressing the hope that this will not affect mutual amity"!

The author has given a short history of another set of tripartite relations, viz., the Deccan, Iran and the Mughals. The history of the Deccan has been cursorily told, but what is evident is that while the policy of the Mughals with regard to the Deccan was one of constant expansion, Ṣafawī Iran was interested mostly in her prestigious influence in the Deccan cemented by racial ties with the Quṭb Shāhīs and religious and cultural ties with the Quṭb Shāhīs, the Ādil Shāhīs and the Nizām Shāhīs. With political rivalries in the north-west, Iran could well use this influence as a lever against the Mughals in that region.

The eleven appendices to the book attempt to clarify certain controversial points in the narrative, the last appendix contains a detailed discussion on the Sources.

The book is well documented and well printed, though the binding could have been better and stronger.

H. K. SHERWANI

JABALPUR (TRIPURI), PAST AND PRESENT. Editors : Dr. Rajbali Pandey and Dr. Baij Nath Sharma. Published by Jabalpur University on the occasion of XXXIInd session of the Indian History Congress, price Rs. 5/—, pages 37.

The first article and easily the best one comes from the pen of Dr. Raj Bali Pandey who deals with the history of the rise and growth of Jabalpur-Tripuri from the hazy past to the 13th century, thus covering its pre-historic and historic period. The study has utilised the available neolithic data for the pre-historic period and literary, epigraphic and other types of archaeological evidence bearing on the historic period. The story refers to the days of Asura-occupation of Tripuri, which was later on supplanted by Aryan culture. He has told us how this Aryanised society figured in Paurānic-Epic literature and how it fared in the days of the Mauryas, the Graeco-Scythians, the Śātvāhanas and the Śaka Kṣatrapas. The impact of the Gupta rule, of the Parivrājaka mahārājas, and later on, of the Haihayas or the Kalacuris, whose history is almost coeval with the later phase of the ancient history



of Jabalpur-Tripuri, has been narrated with his accustomed ability. The author brings the story of the region up to the 13th century A.D.

The second article also well-written, comes from the pen of Prof. D. S. Chauhan. After a brief reference to the dissolution of the Kalacuri power, hastened by the attacks of the Candellas of Khajuraho and the Paramaras of Malwa, the author introduces us to the history of the dynasty of the Gond rulers, of which the real founder seems to have been Kharji, believed to be the same as Dadi Rai. The most outstanding ruler of this region was the famous Rānī Durgāvati (1549-64), under whose able and affectionate administration Gondwana, of which Jabalpur region constituted a part, became rich and prosperous. Akbar's general Asaf Khan invaded Gondwana. The self-immolation of Durgāvati in defending the honour of the country is a saga of rare patriotism, but she could not save its independence. Gondwana thus became a feudatory of the Mughals. The history of this feudatory State under various rulers is taken up to the middle of the 18th century when it was subjected to frequent Maratha raids.

Prof. K. C. Gupta continues the story of Jabalpur from the end of the 18th century to our own times. It has been stated that, with the disintegration of the Mughal power, the authority of the Jabalpur region passed into the hands of the Bhonslas of Nagpur in 1797. Unfortunately, the rapaciousness of the Maratha revenue collectors and the depredations of the Piṇḍāris ruined the economy of that area. The British troops found it opportune to occupy the area in 1818 and a provisional government was set up, but the unexpected Bundela uprising of 1842 burst upon the scene and Jabalpur became involved in it. Hirde Singh played a great part in it, though without much effect. When the Great Uprising of 1857 took place, Jabalpur did not lag behind, but it was suppressed cruelly. The freedom movement did not however die out and Jabalpur's contribution to it through the Indian National Congress, the Terrorist Organisations, Seva Samitis, etc., has been recounted with details, till 1947, when India became free. This paper is also well-written and informative.

The brochure also contains a brief history of the University of Jabalpur founded in 1957.

H. B. SARKAR



INDIAN CIVIL JUDICIARY IN MAKING, 1800-33, by Chittaranjan Sinha, published by Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 209.

As the title indicates, the book deals with the evolution of Judicial System in India after Cornwallis up to the time of Bentinck. After an introductory chapter describing briefly the system from 1765 to 1800, the author describes in detail the gradual evolution of the system under the following heads, in separate chapters: Indian Judges (occupying lower grades), District Judges, Collectors, Provincial Courts of Appeal, Sadar Dewani Adalat, and the Supreme Court (with special reference to the conflict between the Court and the Bengal Administration). There are quite a large number of books dealing with different aspects of the subject, in different chapters along with the general history. The author has given a very clear and critical account of the evolution of the whole system up to 1833 which would be very useful to general readers. While admitting the great merits of the judicial system introduced by the British as compared to the previous one which it replaced, the author has rightly pointed out its defects, laying particular stress upon "the delays and expenses of obtaining justice which ruined many and often prevented sufferers from seeking redress." Unfortunately, the author's comments are still applicable to a large extent even in free India, and the number of cases pending for five, or six years, or even more, even in the High Court of Calcutta today are simply staggering. Though not claiming any originality the author has done a good work by holding before the general readers a clear picture of how the judicial system of India has grown up by stages. An item of special interest is the discussion on the relation between the Executive and the Judiciary (pp. 149 ff.) which has been a subject of keen dispute between the British Government and the Indian National Congress down to the last days of the British rule, and has not lost its importance even today.

A supplementary volume bringing the account up to the end of the British period would be very welcome. The printing and get-up are quite good.

R. C. MAJUMDAR



**GANDHIJI IN BIHAR**, by Dr. K. K. Dutta: (Published by the Government of Bihar, pp. 244 + VI + 19 plates, price Rs. 5/-, cloth bound Rs. 6/-, 1969).

The year 1969 saw widespread celebrations in India and abroad as the year of Gandhi's birthday centenary. Outstanding personalities and institutions took part in the celebrations and subsequently released volumes about Gandhiji's mission in life, of the Ahimsa doctrine, of Non-violence and of Satyagraha. It is a suitable occasion for each state in India to associate itself with the celebrations and Bihar has thought fit to produce a volume on Gandhiji's mission in Bihar. The events in Bihar which necessitated his lecture tours are all outlined here and they are published along with a record of the speeches delivered by him on each occasion.

Bihar has earned an historic name as the seat of King Janaka of Vedic fame, as the province where Mahavira and the Buddha preached, where the University of Nalanda of world fame shed its light and where the first President of the Republic of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad was born. Bihar became an independent province in 1912 and in 1917 Gandhiji was first invited there to hear the appeal from the much-afflicted ryots of Champaran who were subjected to oppression by the European Indigo planters. The moral force which he exerted on the Employers to relieve the sufferings of the ryots was tremendous; but the authorities who were interested in the European planters issued notice under section 144 which Gandhiji disobeyed more due to the dictates of the higher law of our being, the voice of conscience, than out of disrespect for the lawful authority. (Pages 12 and 13). His statement issued on the occasion showing his mettle reads like the Sermon on the Mount. This was the first time in the State when the authorities experienced the mental calibre of Gandhi, a believer in soul power. During his tours, he made public his "unflinching regard for truth and fearlessness." The Champaran episode fostered the cause of nationalism. Bihar also responded to the clarion call for the Non-Co-operation movement and Satyagraha of 1919. After release from Yerravada Jail in 1924, he toured Bihar in 1925 and 1927 preaching his usual gospels of the dignity of the charka and the need to use Khaddar and Swadesi goods. The earthquake of 15th January 1934 and the death, desolation and devastation it left, moved him to work for the relief committee,



along with Dr. Rajendra Praśad. The communal tension there also warranted his campaigns to restore peace and harmony in the State.

These features of Gandhiji's visit and tours are covered in the VI chapter of the book. It is a record of the speeches extensively delivered by Gandhiji and the correspondence between the Government and Gandhiji over cases of importance. His speeches in 1946 and 1947 sounded notes of warning against growing demoralisation in the Congress and the corruption in the administration.

The book is moderately priced and the outer cover in Khadi cloth is typical of the intention of the Government to foster hand-made products to the extent to which it is possible. The author, the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, has done his best to deserve the expectation of the Government regarding the production of a suitable book for the occasion.

K. K. PILLAY

PATNA COMMISSIONER'S RECORDS SERIES, Vol. I (State Central Records Office, Bihar, Patna, 1965), pp. i-iii, 96, Ed. K. K. Datta; Vol. II (State Central Records Office, Bihar, Patna, 1970), pp. 446, i-x, Ed. K. K. Datta.

The Commissionership of the Patna Division is a key job, the Division being the nerve-centre of the administration of Bihar. The two volumes under review provide a descriptive list of correspondence between the Commissioner and the Secretary to the Government of Bengal from 1853 to 1875. The voluminous correspondence, originally kept in *bastas* (bundles), has been sorted out with meticulous care and then classified, numbered and arranged chronologically.

The papers listed deal with a variety of subjects: general administration, law and order, police, army, public works, railways, roads, irrigation, post and telegraph, land and other sources of revenue, municipalities and local self-government, education and social reform.



The importance of the office of the Commissioner of the Patna Division was never better realised than during the revolt of 1857-8 when a large part of Bihār was aflame. No wonder quite a lot of papers listed deal with the uprising and the measures adopted by the Government to suppress it.

Students interested in Anglo-Nepalese relations will also find the Patna Commissioner's records yielding valuable information regarding the role of Nepal in the revolt of 1857-8, slave traffic on the border, extradition of criminals and delimitation of Indo-Nepalese boundary.

Although both the volumes have a useful glossary of Indian terms, neither has an index—a notable omission, indeed.

The compilation of such an exhaustive list calls for considerable industry and thorough knowledge of archival science. Dr. Datta, the veteran historian, and his assistants deserve the gratitude of scholars for having provided them with a guide to the invaluable source materials for the reconstruction of the history of Bihar.

KANCHANMOY MOJUMDAR.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, Volume IV, edited by R. N. Dandekar and published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1970, pp. 410; price Rs. 55.

This is the fourth and final volume of the proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth International Congress of Orientalists held in New Delhi in January 1964 and contains select papers presented in different sections pertaining to South-East Asian studies, East Asian studies, Islamic studies and African studies. A compendium of research papers of high quality by scholars from different parts of the world, this volume brings to our notice, the rich heritage of the orient on the one hand and the pattern of the development of different institutions in the evolution of the history and culture of different countries on the other. The subjects dealt with range from early feudalism to State-Capitalism in modern times, from Javanese and Japanese semantics to pre-Bukhari Hadith



literature, and from the Triple Alliance of 1882 to the militarism in modern China, not to speak of other varieties one meets with. It is not possible or necessary to refer to all the papers published in the volume. But a few deserve mention. In the sections pertaining to South-East Asian studies there are eleven papers and four summaries; of these mention must be made of the one on Feudalism in Cambodia (c. 4th century—14th century A.D.) by Radhakrishna Chaudhury—a fairly detailed study based mainly on inscriptions. V. Raghavan's paper on 'Cambodian Sanskrit Inscriptions—A Literary Study' not only studies the inscriptional compositions from a literary point of view but also corrects several lines which have been incorrectly reproduced before. In the section on East Asian studies Erwin Reifler's paper on the Archaeological and Metrological Evidence for an Indus Valley and Sumero-Babylonian origin or the Ancient Chinese measuring system is of great interest. Many more interesting and informative papers in the volume can be mentioned.

T. V. MAHALINGAM.

**THE MAKING OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY: DETERMINANTS, INSTITUTIONS, PROCESSES AND PERSONALITIES** by Jayantaniya Bandyopadhyaya, (Allied Publishers, Calcutta 13, 1970; pp. xi + 286, Price Rs. 20/-).

Policy-making and planning, both domestic and foreign, have reached such a vital stage in India's politics at present that a real assessment of the same has to be made in the national and international interests. The complexity of the problem has been further aggravated by the incessant efforts of vested interests to sidetrack the issue on narrow grounds. The author of this book, himself a former distinguished member of the diplomatic corps in India, feels the need to study these aspects on rational, pragmatic grounds to serve as an eye-opener to the personalities guiding the destinies of India. He specially stresses the need to observe the short and long term politics which should be dynamic in character based upon the concept of a permanent and universal goal, namely that of "National interests". We have had a good number of Realists and Idealists from Kautilya, Asoka, Akbar, Nehru and



Gandhi to guide us but the need of the hour is of a political thinker, and the author regrets that even in the 20th century India has not produced a single realist thinker. Decision-making in India in the two spheres has been the privilege of the elite, highly westernised and alienated from the masses. This elite still holds the field with its old outlook and prejudices not attuned to the changing needs and times. While analysing the relation between national interest and foreign policy the author outlines three basic factors namely Security outside frontiers, National development and World order. These are interlinked with the diplomacy of the world order.

The author analyses in the five chapters of the book the various determinants of foreign policy-making as "Geography, political traditions, the national value system, economic development, international milieu and the domestic milieu; and the whole process of policy formulation, in which at least in a democracy public opinion, political parties, pressure groups, Parliament, the Cabinet, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and the Foreign office play a more or less important role" (page 2). A marked transformation in the character of the international politics of India has been brought about, especially after 1947 by the emergence into the international arena of a large number of new Asian and African States marking the age of the end of historical imperialism. The part played by the U.N.O. in this context is well assessed. At the same time, the work of the Parliamentary Standing Committee on External Affairs, Congress Parliamentary Party and the Executive in shaping the policy as also the distinctive role played by Nehru, the foreign minister and the other parties are outlined. The dominance of Nehru with his assertive decision in the field of relations with Kashmir, Goa, China and Tibet is a feature of importance during his Premiership. In Chapter IV the author goes deep into the working of the Ministry of External Affairs consisting of 21 divisions with a network of 168 missions and posts abroad, supplying information based on covert and overt reports. Even a specimen copy of the information sent by two embassies is furnished. The author has much to say regarding its structure, composition and functioning, in addition to the recommendation of the Pillai Committee on the same. The greatest weakness in its functioning is brought to notice while



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sketching the cultural diplomacy of the foreign office. A specimen of the personnel selected for such an office is portrayed, in rather depressing terms on pages 184-186 of the book. Hence the warrant for the statement from the Russian diplomat "But most Indian diplomats do not represent their culture, their country or their people" (page 185).

The ministry lacks two vital units, a research unit and a propaganda planning unit. At the same time the intellectual challenges of the office are least met as in the view of the author: "in this respect, the Indian foreign service has been seriously deficient from its very inception, largely due, I think, to its administration by I.C.S. personnel. The best products of the Universities are recruited, at least until recently but the I.C.S. did its best to convert these talented young men and women into bureaucratised and superficial snobs, with a certain flare for drinking, dancing, polished conversation and a gay life in general, and something verging on contempt for any intellectual or scholarly effort". (page 216). This is, as we are made to think, no encomium to the working of the personnel. Nor did we find, till recently, any coordinating machinery in the section. Chapter V details the working of the Department with Nehru as its head, ruling in a monopolistic manner, with his global outlook. It is said that there were many cross-currents in Nehru's intellectual make-up and he made a broad approach to national and international politics in which idealism and realism, the long view and the short, would be conciliated into an equilibrium or close approximation to it as circumstances warrant. Here a good assessment of Nehru's relations with Tibet, China, Pakistan (with regard to Kashmir) and Goa is given with special reference to his failings in the field. The oft-quoted guideline of India's foreign policy is Non-alignment and this has to be studied in the context of the recent treaty with the U.S.S.R. One cannot fail to notice in this context a remark by another contemporary (Subrata Bannerjee) that 'Nehru, with his global outlook had failed to see that Indian natural interests lay in South Asia'. The policy followed during the post-Nehru period is specially significant as greater stress is being made on four factors, namely, greater attention being paid to India's neighbouring countries, strengthening of economic ties, bestowal of fresh thought on cultural diplomacy and development of institutions necessary for a perfect formulation and implemen-



tation of a successful foreign policy. The author regrets to conclude that the abandonment of Nehru's idealism has resulted in "the onset of an overpowering pragmatism that has imparted to India's foreign policy after Nehru in some ways an uncertain, groping and even fumbling character." (page 267).

The book is an interesting account of the working of India's foreign policy and it is specially noteworthy for the guide lines suggested to make the policy more effective. Views may differ but the fact remains that there is much spade work to be undertaken to set the house in order.

K. K. PILLAY.

A HISTORY OF THE CAMBODIAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT, 1863-1955, by Dr. V. M. Reddi, published by Shri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, pages 228; price Rs. 8/-.

The author undertook and completed the present research-project under the guidance of Dr. B. R. Chatterji. He had the rare fortune of getting funds to visit Cambodia, South Vietnam and Thailand for field-study, a rare phenomenon in India, because, such study-tours are ordinarily frowned upon by the Reserve Bank of India or the Central Government on the ground of paucity of foreign exchange. The exception made in the present case has definitely improved the quality of the work. The study of the subject is however fraught with difficulties, some of which have been pointed out by the author in his preface to the work. Apart from the fact that an author writing on the subject dealt with here must necessarily have the knowledge of French and Khmer, there are other inherent difficulties, because, while the French colonial rule as in Cambodia have presented only the official point of view, important party papers were very often prescribed. Besides, authentic data bearing on the activities of the Khmer Issarak, Khmer Viet-minh movements and on the life and activities of Son Ngôc Thanh are very meagre indeed, though their contribution towards accelerating the pace of independence of Cambodia was considerable. The author's knowledge of French and interview



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with some of the leaders of the drama have enabled him to make an objective assessment of the situation.

Cambodia, with its world-famous temple of Angkor Vat, had brilliant history and, in the ancient period, its writ ran over a considerable part of S.E. Asia. The tremendous effort to build numerous temples and frequent invasions from the Thais and the Annamites ultimately sapped the power of the Kingdom. It continued to maintain a precarious existence within a ring of hostile neighbours. It is only in recent years that nationalism has been a factor to reckon with. This spirit of nationalism has fed the stream of independence and Dr. Reddi has given us a good factual account of it.

In the introductory portion of the work (pp. 1-14) the author has enabled us to take a birds' eye view of the land and the people, but background-study on the establishment of the French-protectorate is rather inadequate, as the period between the 15th and the 19th centuries has been covered in about two pages. The account then becomes fuller and we see how sandwiched between a powerful Thailand and Vietnam, Cambodia tried to save its integrity and independence from the rapaciousness of its hostile neighbours, but it did not completely succeed in either, as some of its provinces were annexed by Thailand and Vietnam. On other occasions, these hostile states tried to nibble at its territorial integrity. In this predicament, king Norodom (crowned in 1864 and ruled up to 1904) turned to the French and entered into a secret treaty with her on the 11th of August, 1863; this is known as the Treaty of Oudong. It was no doubt entered into with a spirit of give and take, but it turned out to be the first step in the process of creating a puppet-state. Neither the king nor the people liked this tutelage and there was an uprising during 1864-77 and a bigger one during 1885-87. These risings were, of course, crushed.

The author then takes us to the maze of Cambodian politics in between 1887 and 1945. In 1887, the French Government ushered in the so called Indo-Chinese Union, comprising the colony of Cochin-China and the Protectorates of Tongking, Annam and Cambodia. Laos was added to the Union a few years later. The



author has described the powers and functions of the Central Government of the Union, its local administration, its finance, judiciary, economic development, social services, etc. The French Government took particular care to put checks on the growth of nationalism. The author has observed (p. 66) that by careful handling of the Cambodian traditional 'power elite viz., the king, the royal family, the civil servants, the French succeeded in ruling the country, keeping an illusive facade of autonomy, but it was nothing but unadulterated colonial rule. The growth of nationalism was balked at every stage and this was facilitated by the scarcity of leaders. This was not surprising, as education was hardly promoted by the French colonial rulers.

The author has then described Cambodia in the throes of World war II. It saw Japanese occupation, which resulted in the grant of independence, subject to certain restrictions imposed by war conditions. The positive and negative aspects of Japanese occupation have been described by the author with competence. The end of the war saw the come-back of the colonial power. To the old problems were now added the problems of recovery of some western provinces taken by Thailand in 1941 and the threat posed by a resurgent republican Vietnam. King Sihanouk thought it necessary, with a view to regain lost provinces, to enter into the compact known to history as *Modus Vivendi* with the French in 1946. A free Cambodia movement however started and political parties grew in strength. The king ultimately took power into his own hands, but, unable to meet the unreasonable demands of the French, he went into a second self-imposed exile "to alert world opinion", as the problem before him was then, in his own words "to choose between France and my people". With loss of face at Dien Bien Fu and world forces operating in favour of Cambodia, the country became ultimately free in the real sense of the term. French protection had probably saved it earlier from complete disintegration, and when this historic purpose was served, the country became free.

The author has shown commendable critical acumen and the work has been an eminently readable one. The price, considering the quality of the work and the number of pages, is quite moderate.

H. B. SARKAR



LORD NORTHBROOK'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION—1872-76,  
by Edward C. Moulton, Asia Publishing House, 1968,  
Pp. VIII + 312. Price Rs. 30.

This is a welcome addition to the literature on British administration in India during the 19th century. The general impression of Northbrook's administration has been expressed by V. A. Smith in the following words: "His period of office presents few incidents worthy of special notice". But this is somewhat belied by the book under review. The author has emphasised some important aspects of Northbrook's administration and presented them with fullness of details and in a critical spirit unaffected by any personal bias which often marks a biographical treatise. Reference has been made to Northbrook's bold stand against the decision of the Government of Bengal to extend elementary education by retrenching higher education. This policy, initiated by Sir George Campbell, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and supported by Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, was condemned by the Bengali leaders for reasons which have been very fairly stated by the author (p. 63) in words highly creditable for an English author. Referring to the Government resolution on the subject he observes:

"It urged the Bengal Government 'to reduce to the utmost the charge upon the State for English education' and to do everything possible to promote vernacular education. This resolution, which was subsequently published, aroused great alarm among Indian leaders, many of whom undoubtedly believed that the Government was deliberately attempting to thwart the growth of the already influential English-educated class and that its motives were partly political. These beliefs may not have been altogether unfounded, considering the hostility of many of the leading members of Council towards educated Indians. In about fifty towns throughout the province irate Bengalis held public meetings to protest against the Government's policy. A public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall under the Chairmanship of Ramanath Tagore and attended by most of the educated community adopted a memorial to the Secretary of State. The memorialists admitted the importance of extending vernacular education but maintained that this should not be done at the expense of higher education".

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This somewhat long passage is quoted in order to revive the memory of a critical situation which at one time threatened the promotion of higher education in Bengal and was brought about by a type of reactionary policy which was not a new feature, but seldom manifested in such a blatant manner. The author has done well in bringing back the memory of this unfortunate episode which is now well-nigh forgotten. He is quite right in giving credit to Northbrook for undoing the evil policy with which even the Secretary of State had refused to interfere. Similarly Northbrook showed a liberal and sympathetic spirit by opposing the reimposition of income tax and fighting till the last against the abolition of customs duty for the import of cotton which Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State, forced upon the Government of India. On this as well as on the final decision to remove the Gaekwar of Baroda for mal-administration, which is all too well-known to require detailed mention, the author has brought out fresh documentary materials which place Northbrook in a more favourable light than what would appear from the action which his Government had actually taken, or rather was forced to take under pressure from the impetuous Secretary of State.

The author has quoted a mass of documentary evidence to show that Northbrook was fully conscious of the growing unpopularity of the British Government in India which was not a little due to the unsympathetic and condescending attitude of British officials in their social behaviour towards even very eminent Indians. He tried to remove this evil by his own example. As the author puts it, "Northbrook's genuine liking for Indians and his desire to reduce European prejudice towards them was reflected in his efforts to promote social contacts with them. In his opinion the most suitable approach was to invite Indians to small dinner parties and informal gatherings rather than to Government House balls" (p. 16). Northbrook, on his part, twice visited the Calcutta home of Jotindramohan Tagore, the Secretary of the British Indian Association, and was entertained there by amateur dramatic performances and Indian music followed by elaborate refreshments" (p. 17). Northbrook "publicly promised that his Government would "use great deliberation" and consider the "feelings, prejudices, and interests" of the people in legislating for India" (p. 18).



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"To help ensure this Northbrook was anxious to have more effective Indian representation in the Legislative Council" (p. 18). Urged by this motive he nominated two distinguished members of the British Indian Association to his council" (p. 18). The first of these was Ramanath Tagore, a leader of the Brahmo Samaj and of the British Indian Association, the most important political organization of the time. "Although his duties were purely legislative, Northbrook occasionally consulted him on executive matters. He referred to Tagore as his "Bengalee adviser" and upon his retirement after the normal two year term expressed "sincere thanks" for his services." "Both in Council and upon several occasions of importance in the course of the past two years", Northbrook wrote, "I have received from you valuable advice and assistance which has been of great use to the Government." In his place Northbrook appointed Narendrakrishna Deb, another prominent member of the British Indian Association, to whom he later paid tribute as a useful assistant in legislation (p. 18).

The foreign policy of Northbrook, which has been dealt with in detail, also shows the same liberal and sympathetic attitude. It was mainly due to his conciliatory policy that war with Burma was averted, and the kingdom remained independent for another decade. He proposed to follow the same policy of conciliation towards Afghanistan and steadily refused to adopt the dictatorial policy of Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State, of coercing the Amir into accepting a British Agent at Kabul. Though the members of the Governor-General's Council unanimously agreed with his view, Salisbury refused to yield, and Northbrook declared that if the Cabinet adhered to its proposed policy "he would be glad to be relieved from the task of carrying (it) out" (p. 250).

In the meantime he had written to the British Government "to be relieved of his office in the spring of 1876". So Salisbury did not force Northbrook to carry out the home Government's policy during his last months in office. But Salisbury selected Lord Lytton as the successor of Northbrook and "gave him secret instructions to carry on a forward policy in Kabul" (p. 252). Lord Lytton followed the instructions and the tragic results of the second Afghan War fully vindicated the wisdom and foresight of Northbrook.



The author has discussed at some length the real ground of Northbrook's resignation. In the letter of resignation, referred to above, Northbrook clearly said: "My reasons for making this request are entirely private one" (p. 258). But the view was persistently held, even by his closest friends, that Northbrook's resignation was due to differences with Salisbury, particularly over the tariff reform and the policy towards Afghanistan. After a prolonged discussion of the whole matter the author has stated his own conclusions in the following words:

"It is clear from this analysis that differences occurred between Northbrook and Salisbury from the beginning of their official relationship, that these differences became progressively more serious, and that they caused Northbrook increasing anxiety. By September 1875 it was obvious that his views on many major questions of Indian administration were irreconcilable with those of Salisbury and the Home Government. 'Despite Northbrook's claim that he was resigning for private reasons, it is hardly conceivable that these differences had no influence on his decision. Indeed, there is much to indicate that they were the principal reasons' (p. 273).

The author begins his concluding chapter with the words "Northbrook's retirement in April 1876 marked the end of a momentous Viceroyalty. Yet, public opinion, especially in India, was sharply divided in its reaction to his resignation and in its verdict on his administration" (p. 281). It is not possible to discuss this question in detail, but on the whole, on finishing the book, one would perhaps be more inclined to agree with the first of the two sentences just quoted above, than with the cryptic remarks of V. A. Smith quoted at the beginning of this review.

The book is well-written and throws much new and refreshing light on the career of Lord Northbrook in India. The printing and finish of the book are excellent.

R. C. MAJUMDAR



INDIA AND EAST AFRICA: A HISTORY OF RACE RELATIONS WITHIN THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1890-1939; by Dr. Robert G. Gregory, Syracuse University (U.S.A.). (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. XVII + 555, including Index. Price: £ 7.0.0 (Britain); \$ 24.00 (U.S.A.).

Professor Gregory has produced a long awaited and much needed encyclopaedic work on the relationships between Britain, India, and East Africa. Investigation was begun in 1962 and the writing was completed in the summer of 1969. It is solidly researched, interestingly written, and it does not belabor trivia. The bibliography is select yet lists the housing of primary materials in each of the three regions dealt with in the book.

An introductory chapter focuses on the long chronology of Indian involvement in East Africa. The author discerns five chronological sequences into which India and East Africa can be divided, and he has selected to explore the fourth time span, the especially crucial years from 1890 to 1939. A brief description of the three earlier periods is presented, and speculations on ancient Indian-African trade are advanced. Gregory systematically presents varied arguments relative to Indian activity in Africa, but he does not profess unreasonable conclusions.

Many writers have discussed the origin of Indians in East Africa. Standard interpretation is that many are descendants of laborers who worked on the Uganda Railway at the turn of the Twentieth Century. Not only does Gregory show us that Indians were in East Africa as early as the 7th Century B.C., but he distinguishes between the later immigrants as Hindu or Muslim. The Hindu came without his family and was primarily a money-lender (characterised by Livingstone as the villain in the slave trade), whereas the Muslim arrived with his family and became a small *dukawallah*. It was the latter who was most frequently accused by European settlers of living alone and sending all his profits out of Africa to support his family in India.

Although this is primarily a book on race relations, it provides insight into the political and historical aspects of East Africa; more so than many definitive text books. The section dealing with German direct rule and its effect on Indians is excellent. One



wonders, however, why the Indians felt that they should have been treated better than black Africans. The real problem was never that one race was treated less fairly than another by the British, but that all non-Europeans were discriminated against, often inhumanely, under the guise of Christian civilization.

An area of contention among scholars was the role of the Indian in Africa during World War I. Gregory amply shows that their role was less than heroic in many instances, but he also testifies that the Indian played a vital part in British victory. He concludes that the "local Indians' effort will always be somewhat questionable." This aura of accountability adds to the validity of this book.

Not all Indians championed the position of East African Indians, i.e., that the colonies should be open to Indian settlement and ownership of land. Gandhi and his aide, Henry S. L. Polak, were vehemently anti-colonization because they believed that India should receive priority before expending valuable energy elsewhere. This philosophy was espoused particularly following World War I when the Indian community felt that they would be given control of the former German colony of Tanganyika.

The doctrine of "native paramountcy" is carefully analysed, as are the various commissions of inquiry that investigated Indian or European complaints in Africa. Indians became reconciled to an inferior status although many administrators in the Home and Colonial Offices had advocated Indian advancement in political and social matters. By 1939 the Indians "were no longer discriminated against by the Government in the sale of municipal property, and they enjoyed both electoral and office-holding privileges," in Kenya.

In addition to being a very thoroughly researched volume, *India and East Africa* is well written. Each chapter has a solid introductory paragraph, and all important personalities are given a brief biography within the text. The result is a precise, thorough work.

No volume of this length, however, is without minor flaws. Some appear to be editorial, others not. The term "native" is unacceptable today when speaking of African peoples. Similarly



"Hottentot" is not presently used, yet they each slip into the text. Sleeping sickness in Uganda is mentioned in passing, yet it was significant to Indian-British-African relations. It was, in fact, a source of friction during the first decade of the 20th century during the great epidemic in Uganda. India refused to allow any Indian in East Africa with the disease to return home. Soldiers stationed in Uganda were exiled from India. In addition, several Indian plantations in Uganda were restricted, including Visram's, due to tsetse fly infestation, yet European concessions were given preferential consideration.

A cognitive aspect of this book are the quotes used to introduce each chapter. Except for the first, the source is not given until the reader comes across the same quote in the body of the text. Some quotes are out of context. Lugard is a case in point. He is quoted as proposing Indian colonization and settlement. Lugard's words are used to counter those of Eliot who proposed a "white colony." Lugard, although envisioning Indian settlement in Kenya, particularly in the malarial lowlands, proposed that the solution to the 'Indian Question' "would seem to lie in defining the area to be appropriated to British settlement, and granting to the settlers within this area representative government. . . ." He was speaking of the highlands, and advocated segregation and discrimination. Lugard must not be viewed as a benevolent humanitarian espousing equality for mankind.

In spite of these minor discrepancies, Dr. Gregory has clearly presented a complex and unwieldy problem. *India and East Africa* is a volume which must be read and used by scholars involved in the area of Indian-British-African relations.

\*Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*, p. 321.

HARVEY G. SOFF

KARIAN EXCAVATIONS, by Sita Ram Roy. Published by K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. 1966; pp. xi-28; price Rs. 4/-.

This small report records the study and interpretation of the finds from the archaeological excavations conducted at Karian, an ancient village in the District of Darbhanga in Bihar. The village



is traditionally known as the birth-place of Udayanacharya, the celebrated 10th century philosopher of Mithila. Though the spade work at this site did not yield any positive evidence to associate the philosopher with it, it has thrown ample light on the material culture of the people of this part of the country in the period extending right from the Gupta Age down to the period closely following the 12th century A.D. The excavations revealed three occupational periods namely (a) Period I, covering the period before the 6th century A.D. with a cultural equipment similar to that of the Kushana and Gupta periods revealed by the Hastinapur excavations, (b) Period II, covering six centuries from the 6th to the 12th century A.D. with finds characteristic of the Pala period and (c) Period III, covering the period after the 12th century A.D. with antiquities which are characteristic of late medieval period. The archaeological finds include numerous terracotta objects like animal figurines, skin rubbers, balls, dabbars, antlers; glass beads and bangles, besides potteries like the red slipped ware, grey ware and structures of burnt brick.

The report carries a good number of line drawings and photographs. In these days of increasing demand for excavation reports throwing light on the every day life of the ancient people, this Report is certainly to be welcomed.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

#### HISTORY OF POSTAL ADMINISTRATION IN HYDERABAD:

Vol. 1 (of series "The Philatelic and Postal History of Hyderabad"), by M. A. Nayeem: (Bright Publishers, Sayeed Manzil, Saifabad, Hyderabad-4, 1970; Pp. XIV + 317 + 26 (Plates), Price Rs. 75/-.

The author has brought to bear a new dimension in historiography by adopting a novel course of combining history and public administration in this volume. As a keen student of medieval Indian History, he has presented here "a picture of the enthralling story of the birth and growth of Postal Institution in the Deccan in the 13th century to the great height it had attained in the mid twentieth century". A thorough and detailed study of all the avai-



lable archival records and the works left by Badaoni, Ibn Batuta, Yahya Sirhindi and Abul-Fazl have been made to arrive at an exhaustive information regarding the functioning of the postal system in Hyderabad from the 13th century and it is no exaggeration to say that even the minutest details have not escaped his notice.

No Government can function effectively if the Postal and Transport departments are not organised on perfect lines. Due to their country-wide organisation, they require frequent overhauling and stream-lining to keep pace with the growing trends in society and Governmental work. While portraying these aspects, the author has shrewdly pointed out the successive stages of their expansion, as dictated by the needs of the times. The safety and quickness of the Postal Department depend on the active co-operation of the Railway, the Police, and the officials serving in the Postal Department as well as the public at large. Their coordination is of vital importance for maintaining the efficiency of the service. These aspects are covered in his book in 4 parts dealing with the evolution of postal communication, administration in the Deccan and early postal Administration in Hyderabad (1296 to 1857), history of postal Administration in Hyderabad (1857 to 1948), statutory evolution and transition and merger (1948 to 1950). *Barids* were the couriers or mail runners of Ala-ud-din's times and the distance (*krosa*) to be covered by them was specified. The Peshwas fixed the postal rate for private correspondence at four annas per tola. In the time of Akbar the *Dak Chawkis* functioned with the horse as the means of transportation. The Mir Bakshi was the head of the Postal Administration and he posted *Bakshis* and *Waquai Navis* to serve in the provinces. From the time of Emperor Shah Jahan postal services were given to persons on a contract basis.

The origin of the Public Post Office under the English East India Company dates from 1712. Asaf Jha II, the Nizam, introduced the Moghul system in his six provinces in 1774. As the Nizam had to be in touch with neighbouring rulers, he introduced the interstate postal communication service with an elaborate scheme fixing the rate of postage. With the cession of the Northern Circars to the English East India Company in November 1766 by the Nizam and a treaty of alliance with them in 1790 a new,



chapter opens in the phase of the progress of the Department. The British Mail was sent through the Nizam's territories. The British Post Offices were administered by two British Postmasters-General when free franking of Nizam's Official Letters was undertaken. But, it is notable that the Nizam's Government was to bear the expenditure towards the establishment of the British Post Offices.

The promotion and expansion of the Department owe much to the ingenious brain of Nawab Mir Turab Abkhan, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad State from 1853 to 1883. The old postal contract system was abolished in preference to departmental handling of the scheme. The field of the Postal Department was widened to cover a broad range of work as at present. The demarcation of powers and the rules framed thereunder are noted from page 99 to 106. From page 118 to the end, the evolution of the postal system with its Personnel administration, the powers and authorities of Postal Officials, the functions and duties of Postal Officials, the financial administration, the wide range of work of the Department as we see it today are all outlined. The functioning of the Dead Letter Office (now designated as Returned Letter Office), foreign mail service, combination cover systems, Postal budgets and the printing of Postal stamps and similar features of the Department work are described at length. It is interesting to learn that the first adhesive postage stamp of Hyderabad was issued in 1869, on Islamic pattern. The Postal agreement of 1882 between the Nizam and British signed by Sir Salar Jung and British Resident, W. B. Jones, ceased to operate with the integration of Hyderabad with the Indian Union in 1950.

The various sketch maps provided are useful in enlightening the readers about the towns and rural areas, with their approaches, which were connected by a network of postal communication. The index on pages 312 to 317 and the Appendices on Pages I to VIII (illustrating the documents of the Nizam's Postal administration) are very useful. But for a few misprints here and there and the repetition of 3 paragraphs on page 62, the book is admirable in its conception and finish. The labour involved and the wide range of original sources used by the author add much credit to him. However, the book is so priced that it cannot come within easy reach of the reading public.

K. K. PILLAY



STUDIES IN THE GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Motilal Banarsidass, 1971, pp. x+401. Price Rs. 45/-.

This is the revised and enlarged second edition of the book originally published in 1960. It is a collection of articles relating to the geography of ancient and medieval India published by the author in various periodicals. While the old edition contained about 30 articles presented in 22 chapters, in the present edition 45 articles have been presented in 29 chapters. Since the publication of the first edition, the book has been justly regarded as the standard work on the subject, and the wide knowledge and scholarship displayed in it by the learned author has received due recognition. The value of the present edition has been enhanced by the new materials incorporated in it, as stated above, and the students of ancient and medieval history would find it almost indispensable for their study. For the author has brought together scattered materials bearing upon the identification of many localities, and much valuable information about them. It is not necessary to give a detailed account of this well-known work. Unfortunately, the revised edition also is not free from some of the defects which are usually noticed in the works of the learned author, even though his attention has been drawn to it more than once. Reference may be made in particular to his habit of using the word "unwarranted" about the views of others which differ from his, confident assertions of his own views as authentic though there is not sufficient evidence in support of them, and unwillingness to admit his own errors even when they are definitely proved to be so by the discovery of fresh evidence. Confirmation and illustration of all these defects will be found in his elaborate discussion of *Vaṅga* and *Vaṅgāla* in Chapter VII (pp. 131-148). The author originally held the view that the name "*Vaṅgāla* is often found in records and works of the period later than the tenth century A.D." (p. 132) and even went so far as to say that "the name *Vaṅgāla* can hardly be expected in any record earlier than the rise of the Candras in the tenth century A.D. (*IHQ*, XXIII, 63), because he held the view that the name originated about that time. He further argued that as "the Candra kingdom is called *Candra-dvīpa* according to one evidence and *Vaṅgāla-deśa* according to another, the two are more or less



identical" (p. 133). All these theories are demolished by the discovery of the Nasari Plates to which he refers in a footnote in the first edition (p. 124). Presumably he was unaware of it when the main text was ready, if not already in print. But although in the second edition he transfers the footnote to the text itself, he has left the rest of the discussion and his old conclusion unchanged. It may be further pointed out that if we accept his argument about the identity of Candradvīpa and Vaṅgāla we have also to identify Gauḍa and Vaṅga, for he has himself pointed out in the preceding page (p. 132), that Dharmapāla is called Lord of Vaṅga in one epigraphic record and Lord of Gauḍa in another. There are other instances of the learned author's reluctance to change his views in the light of new discoveries. Again, in the same chapter he has gone out of his way in making a fling at the editor of the *History and Culture of the Indian People* series for appropriating a suggestion of Hodivala without proper acknowledgment (p. 143, fn. 5). The fact is that in the chapter on the Khaljī Dynasty, the contributor of the chapter referred to the son of the Yādava king Rāmachandra as Śaṅkara, following the usual practice. The editor changed it to Singhana and added an appendix to discuss the whole question in which reference is made to Hodivala's statement in the very page of the book mentioned by Dr. Sircar. It is not easy to understand why the blame, if any, is attached not to the writer of the chapter but to the editor, to whom a further reference is made in the same chapter as being guilty of maintaining two "unwarranted" theories (p. 131). It may be mentioned that though reference is made to irrelevant topics like failure to recognise properly the credit due to Hodivala in a matter which has nothing to do with Candradvīpa, the author does not refer to many interesting facts and theories about its history, nomenclature and location such as are discussed, for example, *History of Ancient Bengal* (p. 10) by the Reviewer which should have found a place in a book primarily dealing with the geography of ancient Bengal.

While the author does not hesitate to call any theory, with which he does not agree, as "unwarranted" if it is not based on conclusive evidence, and merely advanced as a hypothesis, he uses the words "almost certain" and "most ingenious and constructive" with reference to Hodivala's views on the proposed identifi-



cation of Mas'ūdi's *Rahma* based mainly on conjectural emendation of texts (p. 143).

Enough has been said to indicate the nature of blemishes in a work, which, as said above, in spite of them, must be regarded as the most informative and scholarly work on the geography of ancient and medieval India that has been written so far.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

TIPU SULTAN'S MYSORE—AN ECONOMIC STUDY, by M. H. Gopal. (Published by Popular Prakasan, Bombay), 1971, Pp. 112. Price Rs. 20.

This neat little volume consists of five research papers which are made to form parts of a connected theme, dealing with certain facets of the economic life of the Mysore Kingdom under Tipu Sultan in the last quarter of the 18th century. They bring to focus the way Tipu conducted the finances of the country and the manner in which he sought to protect the economic interests of his state. Though the author does not try to give a plenary picture of the economic life of the period, covering all the major and minor titles under this head, this book is a sufficient guarantee for strong historical objectivity and critical scholarship of the first order.

In the first chapter Prof. Gopal ably makes out a case that by a shrewd device of undervaluing some districts and over-rating others, Tipu cozened the East India Company and secured 18 lakhs of rupees more than his proper share and 36 lakhs more than his enemies got when he submitted the accounts of 1792 after his defeat in the third Anglo-Mysore War. The man emerging out of this deal, to be sure, is not an honest king but a rich businessman with a large income concealed, submitting false accounts to the authorities. The author has dexterously drawn a picture, only in bare outline without colouration, without details but highly suggestive of the spectacular background and deeper ebullient inside.

The same trend in scrutiny and narration is followed in other chapters also. The author spreads the facts, emphasising only those that lead to the main thesis, and the reader is given the chance to



form his own judgement. In the second chapter the commercial policy of Tipu is subjected to thorough investigation and the author brings out an array of refreshingly new facts. An enlightened commercial policy adopted by Tipu ought to have increased the prosperity of the land, but in its operation, it failed to produce the desired result. This masterful analysis opens the door for further investigation in the field. The third chapter deals with the military expenditure and how it proved over-burdening of the state. The fourth and fifth deal with the financial administration and over-all financial position of the kingdom respectively.

All the studies that form parts of the book are well documented and they together place in perspective the economic life of the Mysorean Kingdom under Tipu Sultan. The argumentation is forceful and convincing, the organization of themes well thought out and the exposition pellucid. Instead of adding one more biography of Tipu Sultan, the author has wisely channelled his scholarship to the study of a particular aspect of Tipu's administration which biographers leave mostly untouched.

The book is a significant contribution to the historical literature on Tipu Sultan and students of economic history of South India will certainly find in this much useful information. It is not a mere audit report of twenty years of a King's state-business, showing the credit and debit entries and profit and loss calculations, but a threadbare analysis of an aspect of the material life, with a sprinkling of interesting side-lights of the social, political and religious background of the period.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

THE BRITISH IMAGE OF INDIA, by Allen J. Greenberger,  
Oxford University Press, 1969, Pp. VIII + 234.

The object of this book may be stated in the words of the author. In the first place he holds: "A more complete understanding of British policy towards India can be gained through a recognition of the ideas and images which the British rulers held



about their Indian subjects and Indian possessions" (p. 1). Secondly, he observes that one important source of these ideas, which has largely been overlooked, is the fiction literature—"novels and stories set in the sub-continent", published in large number since the days of Kipling—which has "impressed a whole generation of English-reading schoolboys by the special image of British India reflected in it", and, as "imperial policy in late Victorian times was usually made by an inner circle which came exclusively from the public schools", this image "fell on fertile soil" (Pp. 1-2).

There is no doubt a great deal of truth in what the author says, and his attempt to explore this new source for a proper understanding of the relationship between the British and the Indians has yielded good results. But it may be pointed out that most of the general conclusions drawn by him more or less agree with the views generally held in India about the British attitude towards the Indians, and thus confirm, rather than add to, our knowledge on the subject. This may be illustrated by some concrete observations made by the author on the basis of the British fiction literature.

1. "In order to rule, the novelists believed it was necessary for an individual to be British and to possess certain characteristics which were felt to be natural to that 'race'. The ideal British hero of this 'era of confidence' is "brave, forceful, daring, honest, active; and masculine" (p. 11). "Possession of the characteristics they felt were so valuable gave the British both the right and the obligation to rule. Leadership was looked upon as being the true test of an individual's or, more importantly, a race's worth. The crucial thing is that the British saw the ability to lead in terms of race. It was the British blood which gave them their unique position. Kipling's Kim must order his Bengali friend to follow him and Huree Chunder Mookerjee must accept the order because Kim is British and hence the natural leader" (p. 13). "Even a drop of English blood is, in the absence of a full-blooded Briton, sufficient to bring out the leadership qualities in an individual. Ma Sein, the half-caste daughter of an Englishman, is the leader of all the children's games and the arbiter of what is right and wrong for her Burmese playmates" (p. 14).



Such arrogance on the part of the British is very well-known in India and has been pithily and sarcastically described as the "White Man's Burden".

2. "Since the British must rule they have an obligation to use every possible means to make their rule secure. The English hero of Henty's tale of the Maratha War thinks that it is unethical to have anyone spy on the British, but there is absolutely nothing wrong with having someone spy on the Indians because the British cause is the just one. The American, but completely Anglo-Saxon, Tarvin in *The Naulahka* uses the passions of the Indian princess to trap her. There is nothing ungentlemanly about pretending to be in love with her in order to gain information and then to throw her over despite the fact that she loves him. It is merely a proper method of taking advantage of the weakness that the Indian character contains" (p. 15).

Such disregard of moral principles is perhaps not recognized as a wellknown feature, but illustrations may be found in Clive's forging the signature of Watson for the sake of ruining Siraj-ud-daullah and Umichand, the disavowal of the convention of Wargaon during the first Maratha War", etc.

3. "The giving up of any part of the British way of life was believed to be the worst thing that one could do" (p. 16).

This was not true of the early British community, but was a very familiar feature in the 19th century. An extreme example is proved in a novel by the case of a "women who is posing as an Indian and living in complete seclusion. It turns out that she is actually a 'Mutiny Lady'—a woman who had accepted the Indian faith and way of life at Cawnpore in order to avoid being massacred. She is totally ashamed of this fact and is unwilling therefore to try to take her place in English society again" (p. 16). The moral drawn is; "the right kind of a woman would rather accept death than give up her position as an English woman" (p. 16).

4. "The foremost character trait of the Indian people is that they are like little children. This is a statement which holds true for all of the British writers in this period who apply it to virtually all the Indians with whom they deal. Because they are children, they must be handled in certain ways. In an age when 'sparing



the rod' was the equivalent of 'spoiling the child' it is obvious that relations with a people considered to be children would involve a large degree of force" (p. 42). "Closely related to the childlike image of the Indians held by most of these British writers is the idea that, in a way not unlike children, they were happy in their life no matter if it might appear harsh to a Westerner" (p. 44).

Instances of this were too well-known to Indians from their daily experience, and formed a major item of their discontent.

5. "Of all the various Indian groups it was the Muslims who were most favoured. 'I am an Occidental, not an Oriental' . . . . I think I like Indian Mohammedans, but I cannot go much further in an easterly direction" (p. 45).

Twentieth century politics in India provides numerous illustrations of this pro-Muslim sympathy of the British administrators, though they have always stoutly denied it. In this case the British literature fully endorses the views of the Hindus in India.

6. "Hindus, in general, and Bengalis, in particular, are portrayed in a very harsh light. They may be 'mild', but to a Late Victorian this was not a virtue because it carried with it the implication that they lacked the characteristics of force and action which were most highly esteemed" (p. 48).

This is too well-known to need any comment. But the following is more interesting.

"Why is there so much hatred of the Hindus? (Intellectually, the European mind was outraged by the Hindus precisely in those three principles which were fundamental to its approach to life, and which it has been applying with ever greater strictness since the Renaissance: that of reason, that of order, and that of measure" (p. 49).

7. "Hinduism was also seen to be a cruel religion" (p. 52). "This acceptance and even enjoyment of cruelty is not limited to the Hindus, but is shown to be something that is true of all Indians although it is more marked in the Hindus" (p. 52). It is a candid admission that religious bigotry was not confined to the Christian missionaries.

8. "The Eurasian community plays only a minor role in the over-all image of the Indian people in this early period . . . This



constantly harsh image of the Eurasian is a reflection of several forces in British thought. There is an element of sexual guilt which was bound to find expression in a disavowal of this group. The British were responsible for the creation of the Eurasian community and every attempt by the Eurasians to appear to be more like the English only accentuated this fact. Also, in an age such as this one when the British were basing their superiority purely on racial lines, the Eurasians were a threat to their unique position" (Pp. 53-4). "Another minor group, the Christian Indians, are treated in a similar way to the Eurasians. Despite their conversion, or rather because of it, they are shown to possess nothing but bad traits.

The book abounds in such remarks, most of which are familiar truths.

The author traces three different phases in the British attitude towards India. The observations quoted above are valid for the first period, 'The Era of Confidence' (1880-1910). This is followed by 'The Era of Doubt' (1910-1935)—doubt as to the worth of the whole system of administration—which takes definite shape from after the First Great World War. In the first place, whereas the earlier writers regarded the absolute rule of the British in India as good because it 'gives Englishmen an opportunity for self-development', the writers of this period believed that "such a position destroyed the British. The very act of authority tended to corrupt the holders of the authority" (p. 84). In this matter fiction literature more truly reflected the actual state of things than was apparent even to the best among the British political leaders.

Secondly, "for the first time serious attacks on the value of the whole of Western civilization are expressed in fiction dealing with India" (p. 84). One writer, Orwell, makes his hero say that "the civilization the English have brought to Burma cannot possibly improve that country because Western civilization in itself is degenerate" (p. 85).

"Of course I don't deny', the hero said, 'that we modernize this country in certain ways. We can't help doing so. In fact before we've finished we'll have wrecked the whole Burmese



national culture. But we're not civilizing them, we're only rubbing our dirt on to them". This is as true of Burma as of India.

Thirdly, there is a bitter attack on English woman in India. "Thompson sums up this whole attack by saying that the biggest mistake of the English in India is the way their women act. The laying of the blame for the British failures in India on the English woman there is a much more serious attack on them than anything that had been made by the Kiplings and Crokers of the preceding period. Their attack was a species of social criticism based almost entirely on woman's place in society. For writers like Forster, Thompson, Candler, and Kincaid, the criticism goes far deeper. The English woman in India made it impossible for the English and India to meet each other as friends" (p. 105).

This view has been expressed by many writers, both Indian and British, from actual experience.

Fourthly, the British fiction writers, for the first time, becomes cognisant of the national movement. But, instead of looking upon it as genuine popular movement, the writers paint the nationalists in the blackest hue. "They are not thought to be motivated by devotion to the betterment of India, but are either concerned with themselves, have been personally humiliated by the British, or are the dupes of others. A constant theme is that the nationalist troubles really are not being caused by the Indian people, but by a few leaders who are interested only in their personal advancement" (p. 142). Here, also, literature faithfully echoes the cry of the British politicians and British Indian Officials.

Fifthly, "the change in British image of India is reflected to a large degree in the fact that the problem of whether it was possible for the British and Indians to understand each other became a major theme"... One writer "believes that the basic problem is the lack of contact and communication between the English and Indians—'If only they met us and knew us, he argued, it would be all right'... Another writer says: "It's a matter of common sense... that if we want to stay on, in this changing India, we must be friends with Indians. One of her Indian characters goes even further:

"Your so-called reforms do not interest the masses or touch their imagination. But the boot of the low-class European tou-



ches their backs and their pride and hardens their hearts. That is only human nature. In the east a few gold grains of courtesy touch the heart more than a handsome *Khillat* of political hotch-potch" (pp. 150-151).

Unfortunately, this good sense came too late, and even then it hardly touched the British Officialdom in India.

The third and concluding phase, 'The Era of Melancholy', begins after 1935 and continued till the last. "No longer did writers concerned with India feel that they had to take a partisan stand either in favour of or in opposition to the existence of the British Empire in India. They tended to believe that the Empire was already dead... In the Era of Doubt there were virtually no historical novels. The authors of that period were far too concerned with the problems of the present to write about the past. In the post-1935 period historical novels reappear, as literary men look backwards rather than forwards" (p. 179).

"Hinduism and Hindus play a larger role and are better treated than in either of the preceding periods. Two popular novelists, Somerset Maugham in *The Razor's Edge* and Nevil Shute in *The Chequer Board*, have continued the old image of India as the home of spiritualism from which the West has a great deal to learn". A fiction writer "distinguishes between the Mogul and Hindu parts of Shah Jehan's character. The former is supposed to desire power and the latter to love people. The Englishman prefers the Hindu part and says that he loves the Hindus with all of his heart" (p. 187). The author's comment is worth quoting: "This growing theme may in part be a reflection of the British turning away from the Muslims who were seen as being responsible for destroying the fabric of unity which the British felt had been their most important gift to India. Another explanation for the changing attitude may well be that, with independence as an accepted fact, it was no longer necessary to attack the Hindus who had been the greatest threat to British power" (p. 188). But in spite of this rehabilitation of the Hindus in the good books of the British, "the villain of the piece is still that old character, the Bengali babu" (p. 188).



Enough has been said to indicate from literary sources the image of India in the minds of the British in three successive periods. As already stated above, the picture that emerges is not a new one but is more or less akin to what the Indians had always depicted in their more serious historical writings on the British. Nevertheless, the book is of great value, inasmuch as it is a lurid, but realistic, picture of the British image of India as painted by British themselves. Further, the book proves to the hilt the truth of the dictum that literature is a true reflection of the society. The book may be regarded as an epitaph on the tomb of the British Empire in India.

The printing and get-up are excellent.

R. C. MAJUMDAR.

**HARSHA, A POLITICAL STUDY**, by D. Devahuti; published by Oxford University Press, London; pp. xx + 295; 11 plates and a map; price Rs. 75; 1970.

There is no paucity of researches on the life and times of Harṣavardhana. Since the publication of the *Harṣavardhana, empereur et poète* by M. L. Ettinghausen, in 1906, many scholars have studied the career or some specific aspects of Harṣavardhana's administration. With the full knowledge of these works, and to which she frequently refers, Dr. Devahuti claims justification for a fresh study on that emperor. After going through her dissertation one may feel that she has failed to bring in any new evidence, which has altered the familiar image of Harṣa. Yet the most unkind critic will have to admit that she has rendered signal services to Indology by translating from the *Hsi Yü Chi*, *Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao* and other Chinese texts in English. Those who are ignorant of the Chinese language shall immensely profit by the English version of those Chinese texts, which relate to the Indo-Chinese missions in the reign of Harṣa and the adventures of Wang Hsüan-t'sê.

It is gratifying that she has utilised her extensive readings in texts, both original and secondary, in writing the chapters on the kingdoms of Northern India in the latter half of the sixth century.



A.D., early history of the Vardhanas, extent of empire and administration of Harṣavardhana (Chapters ii—iv and vi). Acquaintance with secondary sources and research articles have not shaken her faith in the veracity of facts noted by Harṣa's court-poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa and a foreign friendly chronicler Hiuen Tsang. She is aware of the limitations of Hiuen Tsang. She writes "Hsüan-tsang tended to present, on the basis of scanty evidence, an exaggerated picture of conditions as he would have liked them to be" (p. 4). Yet it is on the evidence of Hiuen Tsang alone that she makes Bhāskaravarman, a subordinate ally of Harṣa. Similar fidelity to Bāṇabhaṭṭa has led her to suggest that Harṣa was nominated the heir-apparent to the throne by the dying king Prabhākaravardhana in supersession of the claims of Rājyavardhana (pp. 69, 71).

Many portions of chapters v and vi of the book under review show that in search of a "wider approach" the author has travelled far off from the main theme. She is taxing heavily the patience of readers while narrating the concepts of *Rta*, *Dharma* in the age of the *Vedas*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. References to *sāmanta* in the *Aparājita-prichchhā* and *Sukranītisāra* (pp. 164, 167-168), which were compiled in between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries A.D., have little relevance to Harṣa's administration.

It is difficult to agree to some of her statements. It is not a fact that the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra* is a work anterior to the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra* (p. 121). F. W. Thomas, editor of that text, himself suggested that the reference to the Yādava country therein may indicate its compilation in the twelfth century A.D. Jayadeva, the author of the *Prasannarāghava* did not flourish in the eleventh century, as has been indicated in page 154 but a century later. It is stated in the *History of Sanskrit Literature*, edited by S. N. Dasgupta, Vol. i, p. 462, that, the above-mentioned Jayadeva "can be assigned roughly to the 13th century". Moreover, *bhāgakara* and *udraṅga* have wrongly been assumed as identical taxes. She has stated that both of these taxes mean a levy of one-sixth of land produce (p. 203). Further, one shall find it difficult to reconcile two of her other statements. It is apparent from her copious references to the *mandala* system that Harṣa was a *vijigīṣu*. Yet elsewhere she writes that Harṣa's



"empire was of a confederate type" (p. 232). The two systems—*maṇḍala* and confederation—run in opposite directions. It is really surprising that even in a volume published by the Oxford University Press, London, a few errors in printing are found, e.g. *ksātra* (p. 83) for *kṣātra* Hsüan-tsang's departure from Kashmir in 623 (p. 96) for 632 or 633 A.D., Kshemendra (p. 195, f.n. 6) for Kshemendra

In spite of these minor flaws, this book, highly priced, is a valuable addition to the literature on Harṣavardhana. It is a suitable testimony to the sincerity and critical faculty of the author. We shall eagerly look forward to some other work of her on a less discussed topic with the same devotion to meticulous details and critical evaluation.

B. P. MAZUMDAR.

MOVEMENT IN STONE, by Mathuram Boothalingam, Somani Publications (P) Ltd., New Delhi, pp. 90, Price Rs. 18/-.

This is a short introduction to some of the important and already well-known Chola temples. Starting with a sketchy introduction on the iconography of some of the deities seen in most of the temples, this booklet proceeds to provide the historical background of Indian art and a short account on the design of the temple and the style of the Cholas. This is followed by descriptions of temples like the Vijayaḷayacholisvara at Nārttāmalai, Balasubrahmanya at Kannanur, Sundareswara at Tirukkattalai, Kornganatha at Srinivasanallur, Nagesvara at Kumbakonam, Brahmapurisvara at Pullamangai, Agastisvara and Cholisvara at Kilaiyur, Muvar Koil at Kodumbalur and Valisvara at Tiruvalisvaram. All these places are indicated in a map of South India while suitable illustrations enrich the book. Still the book will cater to the needs of an interested tourist only and cannot be categorised as a scholarly monograph. In the first place all these monuments have already been brought to light by earlier writers; secondly certain obvious inconsistencies are also noticed—for instance at one place (p. 16) the author assigns the Nagesvara temple to the period of Parāntaka I and at another place (p. 38) to the period of Aditya I. Again in the account on the Chola



style it is stated that 'the basement is moulded in the form of the inverted lotus and together with walls cut into projections like the petals of flower'. This can not be accepted as a standard feature of all the monuments. The inclusion of the Valisvara shrine at Tiruvalisvaram among the Chola temples can not also be justified since recent researches have shown that it is a Pandya structure.

The book carries a useful glossary. The illustrations are fine and the book can usefully serve as a guide to tourists.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

KṚṢṆA IN HISTORY AND LEGEND, by Bimanbehari Majumdar.  
University of Calcutta, 1969, Pp. 307, Price Rs. 20/-.

The field of historical research has seen in recent times a considerable emphasis on the progress of ideas and the development of institutions. Numerous ingredients that collectively constitute a culture are being subjected to detailed study, and since religion was a predominating force and even constituted the basis of social life in ancient India, religious concepts have necessarily received considerable attention. Several scholars have written valuable treatises and articles on some deities but most of them remain mere descriptions of iconography without examining the more important historical aspects of the concepts and their development in time and space. It is in this context that the present work by Dr. B. B. Majumdar is most welcome.

Kṛṣṇa is a deity of hoary antiquity and perhaps none in the Hindu pantheon excels him in the prodigality of sculptural and graphic representations in Indian art. An enormous literature, devotional in nature, has luxuriantly grown around him, and what is more, details regarding his achievements vary from region to region. Kṛṣṇa, unlike some of the earlier *avatars* of Viṣṇu, was most probably a historical figure and hence arouses chronological interest also. These and other aspects of his cult have been dealt with by the author in a detailed manner.

The author starts with the problem of the chronology of Kṛṣṇa, discusses different views regarding the same and concludes on the



basis of a passage in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* that Kṛṣṇa was already accepted as a supreme deity in the fourth century B.C. This is followed by a narrative account of the early life of Kṛṣṇa in the light of literary and sculptural evidences. Then follows the *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata* accounts of Kṛṣṇa; while the *Bhāgavata* largely centers round Kṛṣṇa's and devotes 40 out of 90 chapters and 1604 out of 3946 verses to Kṛṣṇa's life at Vṛndāvana and Gōkula and does not give much importance to the Kurukṣetra war, the *Mahābhārata* concerns itself essentially with the Pāṇḍavas and the Kurus and the glimpses of boy Kṛṣṇa provided in it are but incidental. But certain details about Kṛṣṇa that are not found in the *Bhāgavata* are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*—Kṛṣṇa saying in the Rājāsūya assembly that when he was away in Prāgjyotiṣapuram, Dwaraka was set fire to by Śisupāla, being an example. The author has made a co-ordinated study of both the *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata* and points out the difference in the outlook of the two books. After discussing in detail the life of Kṛṣṇa at Dwaraka, he concludes that his kinsmen regarded him more as a leader of exceptional talents than as an incarnation of god. In discussing the allied question of Rādhā and her love for Kṛṣṇa the author mentions that the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram* mentions Rādhā as Nappinnai; Nappinnai is basically a Tamil concept like Valli, the southern consort of Muruga (Kārttikeya). He states that *Śilappadikāram* has been assigned to the second century A.D. by one scholar and to 465 A.D. by some others and seems to believe that at any rate the work was composed during or prior to the fifth century. But recent researches have also pointed out the possibility of its being much later.

The author attempts to interpret the life of Kṛṣṇa in the light of Bankimchandra's work and shows how the latter disproved the contention of the western scholars that Kṛṣṇa is an allegorical or mythical figure. By providing the elaborate record of the genealogy of the ancestors of Kṛṣṇa the author argues that he was not a non-Aryan god as supposed by some.

The book is a critical and scholarly study of a complex subject in all its aspects. Though archaeological sources are sporadically used they have not been pressed into much service and the iconographic aspect has not been dealt with. The extensive bibliography provided at the end will be useful to researchers. Similar



studies on other major deities with greater use of archaeological sources will go a long way for a full comprehension of ancient Indian culture.

T. V. MAHALINGAM

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF "MUTINY PAPERS" IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA, BHOPAL. Volume III  
Published by National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1971.  
Price (Inland) Rs. 10.50 (foreign) 24s. 6d. or \$3.78 cents.

The book under review is an important research aid for those who work on the problem of the Sepoy Mutiny. Sri. K. L. Arora deserves to be congratulated for preparing this descriptive list of the Mutiny papers in a systematic and diligently thorough manner. His "Introduction" is much too short. Had it been written with sufficient details and giving relevant references, the research value of the book would have definitely increased.

The volume is based mainly on the Persian correspondence of Nawab Sikandar Begam, ruler of Bhopal and her various officials and gives short descriptions in tabular form, of the activities of the Sepoys of Bhopal contingent, Jagirdars of that state and some members of the ruling family. The book also provides a picture of the prevailing social, economic and political conditions of the state and the fluctuating fortunes of the British in Central Indian region.

The worth of the book is no criterion for fixing a high price. Being a government publication, the 132 pages of the volume should have been made available at a lower cost.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN BANGLA DESH (A DOCUMENTARY STUDY), Edited by I. N. Tewary. Navachetna Prakashan, Varanasi, pp. 180. Price Rs. 22/-.

Some books become antiquated while they are in press. The work under review is ill-fated that it requires revision, thorough-



and complete, to the last detail on the date of its publication. The author himself must have felt that the deficiency of the book in the subject matter is rather deathly. When it comes to such a pass that a reader is in the know of more and admittedly larger corpus of facts on a given subject than what is given in a particular book, that book becomes redolent of sheer disuse. Reading public in India and elsewhere, not to speak of specialists in the field, will hardly find anything new or worth-noting about Bangla Desh in this neatly produced lean volume.

If this book had no pretensions to scholarship and research about it, we could have dismissed it as a product of journalistic euphoria. But it has wider claims to objective research and analysis, as it offers a documentary survey of the historic 'great divide'. In the foreword it is said "This, then, is a book for the reference shelf and for the future researchers". Such a tall claim can hardly be admitted.

The introductory study of the problem of Bangla Desh is far from scholarly and is not free from platitudinous remarks. Many of the documents are cognizably fragmentary and mole-eyed versions of important source material. Some of them are shorn of merits as original documents as they are culled out from the reports in the daily press. If the purpose of the book is to initiate the student to the subject and to make him evaluate the historical events through the study of documents, the selection of the material should have been done systematically and with greater care. If it is to help the researcher, it should have been done in detail with more thoroughness and judgement.

In a documentary study, the subject should unfold itself out of the documentation unaided. A fortuitous collocation of sequences does not constitute a fair historical survey. The book under review fails to make the documents relate the story of Bangla Desh.

It may also be pointed out that more important and relevant documents related to the aspects of the genesis and growth of the concept and fact of Bangla Desh have not been given a place in the book. The roles of secular politics, economic realities, student movement, ethnic and language differences in creating Bangla Desh, need special referencing in a study like this. After reading this book one will be tempted to say that the historical discipline



would hardly have felt the absence of this book, if the editor had chosen to desist the urge of producing it in this manner.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

CHALCOLITHIC NAVDATOLI (EXCAVATIONS AT NAVDATOLI, 1957-59), by H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo and Z. D. Ansari. Published by Deccan College Research Institute and M. S. University, Poona. 1971—Baroda, Pp. xxvi + 460. Price Rs. 105/-

The prehistory of India is still, to a large extent lying beneath the earth and archaeologists have been making earnest efforts to exhume as much of the relics in recent years as would enable one to get a fair glimpse of that distant past. The book under review is a report of the excavations carried out at Navdatoli during 1957-59 by the eminent archaeologist H. D. Sankalia and his team. This admirable publication is a real gem that will take its place with any such report produced anywhere in the world. It presents a fuller view of the chalcolithic culture brought to light by the earlier excavations and tries to detect the links that it had with Western Asia especially Iran. The extensive excavations at Navdatoli take us back to a material culture—a truly Copper or Bronze Age Culture—developed around a nucleated agricultural settlement that grew in the Narmada valley in about 1600 B.C.

The authors have accomplished an extremely difficult task with consummate skill, displaying supreme power of analysis. But it seems that they started the excavation with a fore-knowledge about the authors of the Culture that the Narmada Valley was, at that early period, colonised by the Aryan or Puranic tribes. They believe that the beautiful, wide-ranging pottery with distinctive exotic tones, indicates West Asian contact and that the inhabitants of Navdatoli "probably worshipped a crude Mother Goddess who had its origins in West Asia". No skeletal remains could be gathered from the digging-sites. Dr. Sankalia emphasises, "Though as yet we are not able to identify or say categorically who the authors of the Navdatoli Culture were, there is little doubt in the mind of the writer, that external influence—either direct or indirect—was responsible for its birth in Malwa, including the



Narbada, where it had gradually spread". We are curious over the existence of many of these relics with sharp and distinctive features, but their origin in, or direct or indirect relation to, West Asian Culture, is difficult to understand. These claims have to be substantiated by definite evidences. Things that are disinterred tell us very little of their knowledge of West Asia or any other alien country. When forms of worship, styles and pottery are adopted from West Asia how is it that the Navdatolians forgot to bring the living symbols of their speeches—the forms of writing—prevalent in that area?

The brusque generalizations and hypotheses apart, the data laid bare by the diggings are decidedly and signally valuable both for the archaeologist and the historian. The book is more than an ordinary account of the field work done; it takes into critical account most of the existing literature on the subject. Admirably planned and exquisitely produced, this volume will pass for a classic in the field of archaeological studies; it will remain the pick of the crop for years to come.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

STUDIES IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ANCIENT INDIA, by  
D. C. Sircar. Motilal Benarsidas, Delhi, Pp. viii + 292;  
Price Rs. 35/-.

There is no dearth of books on the religious life of ancient and medieval India. But most of them read alike and differ only in details. Prof. Sircar's is a different book, for he draws freely from epigraphic and numismatic, as well as from literary sources whereas most of the previous studies depend in the main, on literary founts. The book under review is a remarkably written and handsomely produced work of undiluted critical scholarship. It contains seventeen chapters besides three appendices, all of them being dexterously distilled from forty of his own research papers and notes published previously in reputed historical journals. No trifling achievement it is to judiciously rearrange, giving an altogether new form and severe continuity, one's own unconnected and stray tracts. The book apparently evidences a scholarly excursion into the inner recesses of religious experiences of ancient and medieval Indians. Prof. Sircar marshalls an array of convincing



evidences from epigraphic and numismatic sources, but his reasonings are not always sound or profound; especially when literary works are produced as sole witnesses, his conclusions are frothy. The first chapter, even though it makes a bold attempt to make out a strong case for "sectarianism of some sort" in the "religious life of India even before the advent of the Aryans some of whom had gradually adopted it before the latest hymns of R̥gveda were composed", betrays all the weaknesses of literary interpretation of historical facts and happenings. The author is exceptionally strong when he is armed with inscriptional evidences and apparently weak when he is not so equipped.

In his anxiety to make his narratives look scholarly, the author is often tempted to make common-place appear deep and unique. Rudra of the vedic age, identified as Siva of later period is characterised as a sectarian God having a class of votaries regarding him as the greatest God who was the creator of other Gods like Brahma. While the R̥gveda contains overwhelming evidence to prove the contrary, Prof. Sircar brings in the evidence of the Mohenjodaro seal representing a God in the Yoga posture with a kneeling human figure, with hands uplifted in prayer on either side of him. Until we are in a position to decipher the epigraph on the seal, it can neither prove nor disprove anything. Prof. Sircar must be aware of this, more intensely than anybody else.

The second chapter on Krishna Vasudeva, even though predominantly having supportive evidence from literature, has a sprinkling of corroborative inscriptional evidence also. To that extent it adds to our existing knowledge on the subject. Subsequent chapters like Vaiṣṇavism in the Gupta and Post Gupta Ages, Puruṣōttama Jagannatha, Śakti or the Mother Goddess, Nagas and Yaksas, Decline of Buddhism in Bengal and Religious Suicide are profound and with rare insight wherein Prof. Sircar soars high in critical objectivity and provides irrefutable and sound arguments. This book will perhaps remain longer in the field, not solely because of its strength, (which it has in ample measure) but because of the weakness of other contenders. All serious students of the subject will find it most valuable as a source of information.

T. K. RAVINDRAN



SELECTION FROM THE JUDICIAL RECORDS OF THE BHAGALPUR DISTRICT OFFICE (1792-1805), Edited by K. K. Datta. M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. Published under the authority of: State Central Records Office, Political Department, Bihar, Patna, 1969, pp. xi + 37 + 406, Price Rs.11.50.

Historical research in India is mighty expensive. For poor research scholars, undertaking long journey to the distant archives and staying at places where these are located, pose insuperable problems. The working conditions in many of the archives are highly prejudicial against the interest of the students who want to expedite collection of data. Naturally historical research becomes the preserve of the economically well-off section of scholastic community. This situation demands a change and poor researchers also should enter the field. One remedy, as far as it goes, is publication of the old records lying in the different state and national archives so as to make them available at the scholars' desk, wherever they chose to live. The book under review is a commendable document collection which will be of immense use to the research scholar who works on the political and institutional history of India. Even though the records published deal with the judicial administration of the Bhagalpur district, they have an intimate bearing on the provincial and national history also. No country can have a national history if the annals of the units and patterns provided by the localities are ignored. Hence the importance of district records.

The present volume contains 521 correspondences of six Judge-Magistrates of Bhagalpur who were put in charge of the judicial administrative machinery devised by Cornwallis. A system however meritorious, will prove unworkable or dangerously ill-fitted, if the officers are self-seeking or inefficient. But Cornwallis System crumbled more because of its inherent weakness than of the inefficiency and the malfeasance of the officers.

The selections provide the reader with interesting information regarding the working of the Cornwallis System including both judicial and police establishments, the efforts of the officers to salvage it from complete disintegration, the crime level and condition of goals, and constabulary and many other aspects of the law and order situation of the country. It may be noted that the book is more than a selection of judicial letters of Judge-Magistrates of



Bhagalpur; in a larger sense, the institutional history of the formative period of British India comes vividly alive and we see it unfolding through the despatches of some officials.

On the whole the book is a worthy addition to the scanty research aids available in India. The value of the book is enhanced by the inclusion of a well documented introduction. A fairly longish list of documents is given as table of contents but the successive letters in the body of the book are not numbered. The work would have been more systematic and complete and its usefulness enhanced if a short conspectus was given before each letter and a bibliography, glossary, and index also were added to it. However the Selection will be found indispensable by all researchers in the field. The nominal price is a favourable point that increases its value as research aid.

T. K. RAVINDRAN

COMMUNISM AND NATIONALISM IN INDIA: M. N. ROY AND COMINTERN POLICY, 1920-1939, by John Patrick Haithcox, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1971, Pp. xiv + 389. Price Rs. 85.

This book traces the development and evaluates the impact of a significant aspect of India's nationalist movement, the rise of communism and socialism and the attitude of the British Government of India towards the nationalist struggle. The study revolves round the life and work of M. N. Roy, the "founder of the Communist Party of India". The author claims, and justifiably so, that Roy's activities in the 1920's and his connection with the Indian National Congress and the Labour movement have been studied with a new perspective. The author's wealth of fresh facts makes this work one of the most outstanding contributions to the literature on India's nationalist movement. Even though documentary evidences are plenty for this period, no previous author has chosen to consult most of them. Haithcox starts his story with Roy's participation in the Second Comintern Congress met at Moscow in 1920 after his forming the Communist Party of Mexico, which was described as "six members and a Calico cat." Roy's encounter



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with Lenin there really marked a place for him in the history of communism. Lenin's draft thesis on the national and colonial question and Roy's alternative draft were discussed and the congress "took the unusual step of adopting both." Roy opposed Lenin's idea of extending support to all "bourgeois-demoncratic liberation movements" because he believed that the nationalist leaders are bound to desert to the imperialist camp in a revolutionary situation. He suspected the "reliability" of the leadership of the Indian National Congress and advocated "the institution and development of the communist movement" and "the organization of the broad popular massess for the class interests of the latter". Lenin on the otherhand did not share Roy's confidence in the strength and class consciousness of Indian proletariat. There was no communist party in India then. The details of the debate between Lenin and Roy are lucidly given in the chapter "The Second Comintern Congress". To the credit of Roy it must be said that his disagreement with Lenin over the degree of support to be given to nationalist leaders as opposed to indigenous communist parties has continued to plague the international communist movement to the present day.

The intellectual power and organisational ability of the Indian leader have been succinctly brought out in the succeeding chapters. His role in organising the communist movement in India and his efforts to penetrate the nationalist movement through Khilafat movement, Bengali revolutionary societies and trade unions are assessed in the book with the freshness of a discovery. Roy's advocacy of a legal, revolutionary, mass party which was to be a part of the Indian National Congress, and a separate party was to escape the Government persecution.

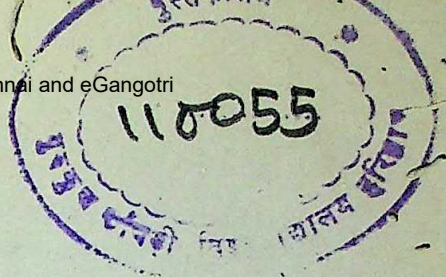
The eventful life of the revolutionary leader, unfolds itself in its variegated contours and colours through the pages of the book. It is a work that deserves to be commended as an excellent example of concentrated objectivity and massive scholarship. Most of our studies on the Indian nationalist movement are sadly wanting in the essential characteristic of critical objectivity and sound reasoning. This outstanding publication can well be taken as a model for future studies on the subject.

T. K. RAVINDRAN









## Our Exchanges

1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
2. *Brahma Vidya, The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Madras.
3. *Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Delhi.
4. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London.
5. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
6. *Folklore*, Calcutta.
7. *Indian Archives*, Delhi.
8. *Indian Review*, Madras.
9. *India Quarterly*, New Delhi.
10. *Indo Asian Culture*, New Delhi.
11. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna.
12. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
13. *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Allahabad.
14. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.
15. *Journal of United Provinces Historical Society*, Lucknow.
16. *Political Scientist*, Ranchi.
17. *Studies in Islam*, New Delhi.
18. *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, Birmingham.
19. *University of Ceylon Review*.
20. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Hoshiarpur.

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(Continued from page 4)

(36) Chalcolithic Navdatoli (Excavations at Navdatoli, 1957-59), by H. D. Sankalia, S. B. Deo and Z. D. Ansari, published by Deccan College Research Institute, Poona and M. S. University, Baroda; (37) Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India, by D. C. Sircar; (38) Selection from the Judicial Records of the Bhagalpur District Office (1792-1805), edited by K. K. Dutta; (39) Communism and Nationalism in India: M. N. Roy and Comintern Policy, 1920-1939, by John Patrick Haithcox, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey

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OUR EXCHANGES

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